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Stalin and Truman

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE cold and negative note struck by Secretary of State Acheson still hung in the air after his lawyer-like arguments had faded. That his rejection of the Stalin peace feeler was expressed with a deft sarcasm commonly absent from official utterances undoubtedly pleased a good many people; they felt that here was a man able to put the wily Russians in their place, a polite, Western-style Vishinsky. But Mr. Acheson's success was a debater's success, not that of a statesman; and so it was followed quickly by a sense of discomfort, which was increased rather than dispelled by the President's mild echo two days later.

Comment over the past week-end was generally critical; some of the editorial writers and radio commentators most friendly to the Administration made the point stressed in this paper a week ago: the United States cannot afford to put itself in the position of refusing to talk peace, even with a nation whose motives it suspects; we should have seized the chance offered by Stalin's statement to make some positive gesture toward breaking the international ice-jam. Several reported disappointment in Washington diplomatic circles.

Abroad, an initial reaction of relief at the news that the President had rejected private conversations with Stalin was replaced by new worries, at least in France. Russell Hill, writing in the New York *Herald Tribune* on Sunday, reported "a strong current of opinion at Paris which is opposed to out-of-hand rejection of any Soviet peace feelers." A Stalin-Truman meeting might not have been regarded with favor, but a Big Four conference would be a different matter. Hill quoted Pertinax as saying that the French government "obviously" does not think the Atlantic Pact should be concluded "without any attempt having been made to respond positively to the overtures of Stalin." "And," Pertinax adds, "it is not necessary to be a prophet to foresee that its views will be expressed at London and Washington."

To anyone who has been in Europe in recent months, this comment will carry absolute conviction. On the one hand, the Western governments, fearful of Russian pressure and the spread of communism, are tightening their bonds with the United States. On the other, they search the skies desperately for signs of conciliation. It is no secret that many leading European officials privately believed the Berlin talks should not have been broken off last summer. It is also a fact that American intransigence in the General Assembly had little support even among the Western delegates. Suspicion of Russia is balanced by the widespread belief that the United States has been stiff-necked to the point of recklessness. Only an American would waste columns of space debating whether or not Stalin is "sincere." Suppose he is not; suppose his single purpose is to make propaganda rather than peace. To most Europeans, it would appear that a curt rejection, however buttressed with elaborate self-justifications, was the very thing he was angling for, a useful bit of evidence that the United States is really the warmonger it has been labeled by Communists the world over. Or suppose Stalin genuinely wants to come to an agreement with the United States but plans to get it on as favorable terms as possible. Is the Acheson answer the right way to convince the world that the United States also wants good relations but doesn't intend to be hoodwinked on terms? It would be highhanded if Truman, without consulting his friends in the West, were to engage in private talks with Stalin. It is almost as highhanded without consultation to slam the door in Stalin's face.

During the next few weeks, the final touches will be put on the fateful Atlantic Pact, an agreement which, if accepted, will commit the United States to a full military alliance with Western Europe and Canada. As this page is being written, the Norwegian Foreign Minister is in Washington discussing the terms on which Norway would consider joining the alliance. In his pocket, he has a note from Moscow offering Norway a non-aggression agreement to relieve any fears it may entertain about Russia's intentions. That Russia would use every form of pressure short of war to keep the Scandinavian countries out of the Atlantic Pact was to be assumed; to get an idea of Russia's attitude, one need only imagine what Washington would do if Mexico were on the point of joining the Eastern bloc. Norway, today, is more than half committed to the West; and Mr. Acheson will

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doubtless do his best to dispel Dr. Lange's remaining worries by promising not to demand bases on Norwegian territory unless war is imminent. But his efforts would be more convincing, and indeed the whole argument for an Atlantic Pact would be immeasurably strengthened, if Norway—and the rest of Western Europe—could be assured that no chance of reaching a settlement with Moscow would be rejected or fumbled.

On the basis of his statement of February 2, Mr. Acheson cannot give Dr. Lange that assurance or help him find a formula that will lessen Moscow's suspicions of the broad purposes of the Atlantic Pact. An atmosphere has been created which can only nourish Russia's fears and give color to its reiterated charge that the United States will not even discuss a settlement because it is determined to push ahead its plans for rebuilding Germany and consolidating the anti-Soviet alliance.

The Nation last week urged that Mr. Truman counter the Stalin proposals by suggesting an early meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers to deal specifically with the Berlin issue. It is not too late even now for such a move. Possibly an even more effective démarche would be to call for a preliminary meeting of the Foreign Ministers to prepare for a later conference among the heads of the chief Allied governments. Meanwhile, activities in the East and West to solidify the opposing blocs would be suspended. A proposal such as this, coming from Washington now, would demonstrate to a skeptical world that the United States is not merely resting on its record and putting its chips on armed alliances and the Bomb. It would throw the onus of acceptance or refusal on the Russians, and in case they proved "insincere," provide a better basis than now exists for taking the extreme measures implied in the plans for an Atlantic Pact.

The Shape of Things

THE FRENZY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC church over the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty is easy to understand. A Prince of the Church on trial for treason before a Communist court would arouse intense feeling under any circumstances. But the Hungarian Primate is more than that: he has come to symbolize the church itself in its contemporary struggle with the Communist "anti-Christ." Whether he wanted this role or not, his clerical colleagues have cast him in it; Cardinal Spellman, from the pulpit of St. Patrick's in New York, denouncing the Communists as "fiendish, ghoulish men of slaughter," proclaimed the martyrdom of Mindszenty even before the verdict. Without any qualification, he echoed the charge made throughout the Catholic press that the Hungarian Primate's admission of some of the offenses charged against him had been obtained by torture or drugs. But in the next breath, he acclaimed

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Mindszenty's confession of partial guilt as a magnificent defiance of the forces of evil—an indorsement hardly calculated to improve the Hungarian prelate's position. Although the facts of the case have been obscured both by Catholic hysterics and by the ambiguous methods of Communist court procedure, the Cardinal's known record tends to substantiate his admissions in the statement read in court. Only his apologies sounded out of key and seemed to give some color to the theory of coercion. As this issue goes to press, Mindszenty's fate is still in doubt. But even if he is judged guilty of the offenses charged, we hope the court will show moderation in pronouncing sentence. The need of reconciliation in Hungary is greater than the value of an anti-clerical demonstration, especially in the face of such bitter and universal Catholic feeling. If the ruling party wants peace with a chastened church, as we believe it does, it will use restraint and mercy in dealing with the Cardinal. Otherwise, it will have a permanently troublesome martyr on its hands.

*

REPRESENTATIVE F. EDWARD HEBERT, WHO was recently removed from the Un-American Activities Committee, behaves as if he were still one of the grand inquisitors. Taking the floor of the House, the Louisiana Congressman, in the best tradition of the committee, casually assaulted the reputation of Dr. Frank P. Graham, who naturally was not present to defend himself. Hebert did not ask for an investigation of Dr. Graham, who as president of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Research has been given limited access to secret atomic information. On the basis of no revealed evidence, he simply asserted that Graham "cannot be trusted" with matters "involving his country," a charge comparable to the committee's treatment of Dr. Edward U. Condon, which even members of that body finally admitted was indefensible. Going farther, Hebert suggested that Dr. Graham be "relieved" of his post as president of the University of North Carolina, obviously none of a Congressman's business, on the ground that he had at one time or another served as a director or sponsor of organizations which Hebert considers Communist fronts. In passing, he paid his respects to David Lilienthal, respected chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, as one "whose own views and sympathies have been called in question." That both Graham and Lillienthal are no more pro-Communist than Hebert is beside the point, which is the cowardly habit, indulged in by certain Representatives, of wrecking the reputations of private citizens without fear of retaliation. Congress itself can put its members on committees where their harmfulness is minimized, as it did in the case of Hebert and Rankin, but only the voters can put them in a position where, like other men, they must stand up and take the usual consequences of wilful slander.

PORTUGAL'S ELECTIONS WILL PROBABLY be dismissed in the press with a few lines announcing the great victory of dictator Salazar. But we want to warn our readers in advance that one of the largest swindles of our time is about to be peddled under the name of democracy. The elections in Portugal on February 13 will be no freer than the elections in Greece out of which the present Sophoulis regime was born. Our Portuguese correspondent, Jaime da Silva, described in these pages on January 1 the conditions existing at the start of the electoral campaign and the tricks invented by the clerical dictatorship to solve the problem of holding elections without allowing the people to vote. Later developments have only substantiated the charges of fraud. A considerable number of voters' names have been eliminated from the electoral registers, and Salazar has so far given no guaranty that representatives of the opposition will be permitted to supervise the balloting or the count. The two candidates are Marshal Carmona, the present President, a simple puppet of Salazar, and General Norton de Mattos, around whom have gathered all the liberal forces of the country and who in spite of his eighty-one years has proved a most vigorous and excellent campaigner. We are in possession of letters from Portuguese liberals reporting that in "prestige and integrity [the General] rates higher among his people than even Eisenhower among the American people." There is not the slightest doubt among independent Portuguese that an honest election would give Norton de Mattos a large majority and thus overthrow the Salazar dictatorship. To prevent such a consequence, the Minister of War, Lieutenant Colonel Santos Costa, and the Governor of Lisbon, Miguel Pereyra Coutinho, have already threatened the opposition with suppression of even the limited measure of liberty granted for the period of the election.

*

ON JULY 2, 1948, PRESIDENT TRUMAN GAVE his approval to Public Law 886, purporting to indemnify Japanese Americans for losses suffered by reason of their war-time evacuation from the West Coast. Under this act, the Attorney General is authorized to receive and pay awards not in excess of $2,500. Claims are limited to such damage or loss of real or personal property as was a reasonable and natural consequence of the evacuation order—damages for personal inconvenience, physical hardship, and mental suffering being specifically disallowed. Since it provides for only a token indemnification, the measure's importance lies in the fact that it recognizes a degree of federal responsibility for this particularly harsh and constitutionally dubious war-time procedure. To date, however, little has been done to implement the legislation. No field agents have been appointed, and if public hearings have been scheduled, they have not been announced. Since many of the

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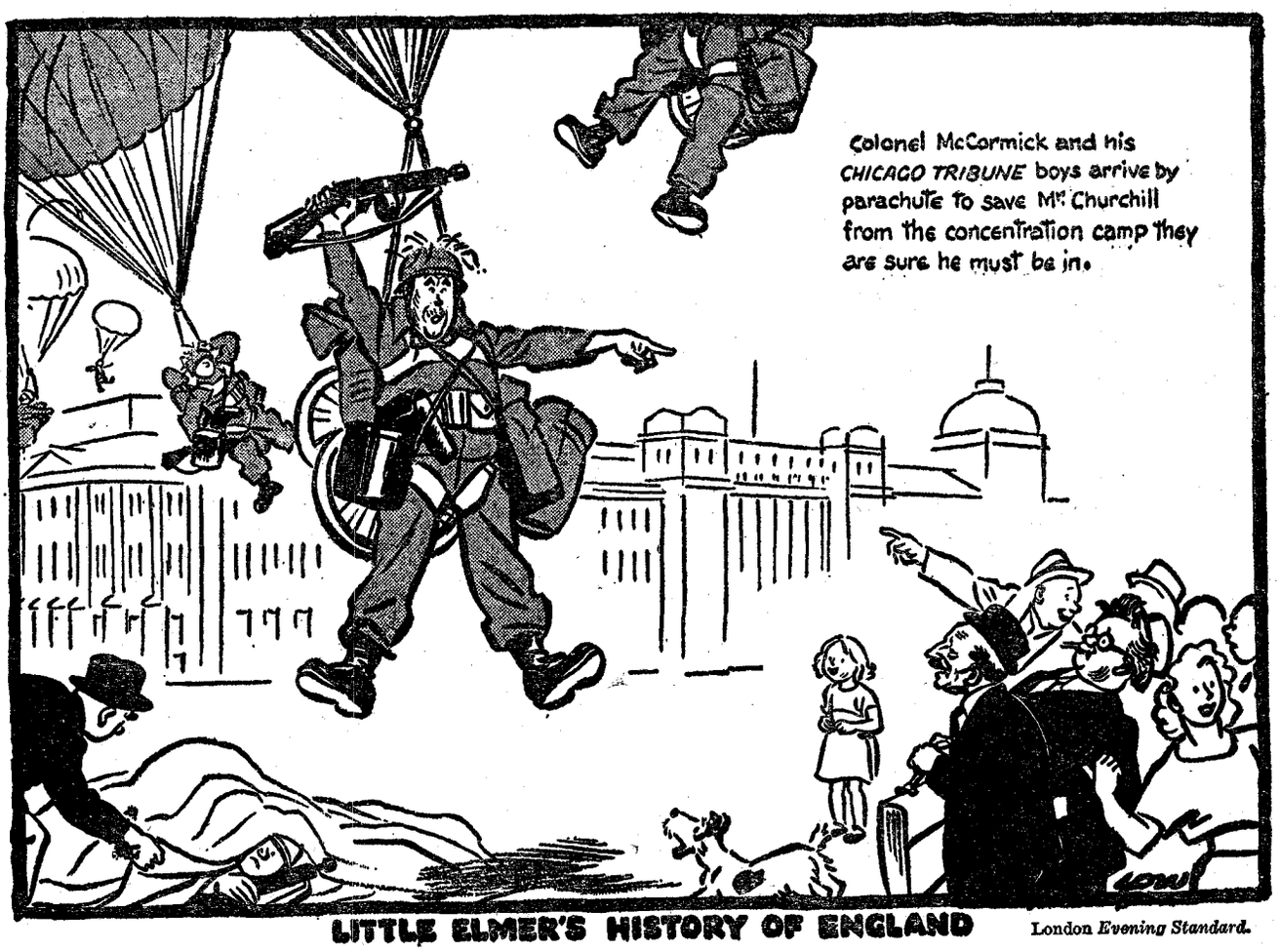
former evacuees may not learn of the provisions of this law, and since all claims must be filed by January 2, 1950, the Department of Justice should make every effort, and without further delay, to advise the evacuees of their rights. Admittedly, the law is merely a "gesture" of fairness and justice, but it should not be robbed of its significance by the government's lack of diligence and understanding.

✶

"LIFE BEGINS AT FORTY," SAYS THE latest bulletin of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; "we have come a long way since 1909." In January of that year, social worker Mary White Ovington, author and economist William English Walling, and Dr. Henry Moskowitz met "in a little room of a New York apartment" to discuss the condition of Negroes in the United States and to see if they could not devise means of rallying the "large and powerful body of citizens" that was "ready to come to their aid." The committee of three turned to Oswald Garrison Villard, then publisher of the New York *Evening Post*. Miss Ovington has written that the future editor of *The Nation* "received our suggestions with enthusiasm, and aided us in securing the cooperation of able and representative men and women." A few weeks later, on Lincoln's Birthday, a proclamation was issued by these fifty-three civic leaders, publishers, social workers, and clergymen. "We call upon all the believers in democracy," they said, "to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty." With these words, the N. A. A. C. P. was founded, on the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. Now, forty years later, the N. A. A. C. P. is the largest civil-rights organization in the United States. Its half-million members, of all races, creeds, and colors, are spread through forty-four states, the District of Columbia, and the Territory of Hawaii. Its executive secretary, Walter White, is famous around the world as a spokesman for his cause. It has fought for the dignity of man with enormous success, *in the courts, the armed services, the press; in state legislatures*, in Congress, and in the United Nations. On this, its anniversary, we wish it as long a life and as vigorous a membership as it needs to achieve its purpose.

✶

THE ROW CONTINUES AT THE CHURCH OF the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn, where the vestry remains adamant in its determination to see an end to the pastorate of its rector, the seventy-four-year-old Dr. John Howard Melish. An old campaigner for social betterment, the elderly divine has lost none of his capacity for indignation, even when the controversy flares so


Colonel McCormick and his CHICAGO TRIBUNE boys arrive by parachute to save Mr. Churchill from the concentration camp they are sure he must be in.

LITTLE ELMER'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND

London *Evening Standard*.

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close to home. Defying the vestry, he cried: "I will not be put out of the pulpit by any group that does not believe in the liberal tradition of freedom of speech." Immediately, the *affaire* Melish became a cause far transcending his own small parish "on the offside of a vast city"; his call to arms was echoed by liberal low churchmen all around the country. But what exactly is the issue? Dr. Melish is accused of causing "deep dissension" within the parish by persistently defending the activities of his son, William, assistant rector with right of succession—a post almost unique in the Episcopal Church. William, who is answerable not to the vestry but only to his father, is chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. In the view of the vestry, he has "attempted to rationalize and justify objectives and procedures incompatible with Christian ideals." This charge is arguable, but as long as one of the primary functions of a minister is to impart Christian ideals to his flock, the issue can hardly be treated as one of freedom of speech. It is, rather, a family squabble, which in the end should be settled by the wishes of the parish. Both sides claim the support of a majority of the parishioners although, to our knowledge, no vote of confidence has been taken. Instead of asking Bishop De Wolfe to find an answer in the canons of the church, why not let the people of the parish decide? In case of irreparable disagreement, divorce is indicated.

*

ON THE DAY THAT CHARLES PONZI DIED A pauper in Rio de Janeiro, the Los Angeles press broke the story of the Pyramid Friendship Clubs that have been growing like devil grass in the lush social environment of Southern California. Two persons start a club by paying 50 cents, $1, or $2 into a pot; each then gets two other couples to join, and these couples in turn get still others on the same basis. Once the pyramid has reached a certain size, the names of the original couple are placed on a new list; when they reach the top of this list, they are "paid off" from the fees of the lower echelons. The key to this latest chain mania is to be found in the word "friendship." Members must attend the regular club meetings, and these meetings are lively social affairs at which the host is supposed to serve refreshments. Even those club members who never expect to be paid off contend that they have acquired a startling number of new friends in a remarkably brief period and at nominal expense. Recently, thousands of Pyramid Club members have been holding mass-meetings, descending on city councils, and conducting all manner of demonstrations in an effort to prevent the police and the press from "breaking the chain." The clubs are most numerous in lower-middle-class sections; the members of one typical club included a mechanic, a plasterer, a grocery clerk, a carpenter, a tavern operator, a school teacher, and a policeman. In a community in which pari-mutuel betting is legal, where charities conduct raffles, and where draw poker is indigenous if not lawful, it is difficult to understand the vigor with which the campaign against the friendship clubs is being conducted. While the scheme itself is a snare, the search for friendship upon which it is based is obviously genuine. It is, indeed, a strange world in which a premium must be paid, even for friendship.

"Teeth" and Injunctions

BOTH labor and the Administration appear to have involved themselves in something of a squeeze over the national-emergency provision in the government's proposed labor bill. Obviously responding to the wish of trade-union leaders, the framers of the bill completely eliminated the injunction procedures which had been among the most objectionable features of the Taft-Hartley act. This opened the way for Republican members of the Senate Labor Committee to contend that the bill lacked "teeth," whereupon Attorney General Clark offered the opinion that "in a national crisis . . . the United States would have access to the courts" in any case. In other words, the government could, if necessary, have strikers enjoined. In the opinion of labor leaders, this is precisely what the government is forbidden to do under the Norris-La Guardia act, and Arthur Goldberg, counsel to the C. I. O., was emphatic in dissociating his client from any such view. Under so broad an interpretation of the President's powers, the government would be able to go beyond even the injunctive power laid down in the Taft-Hartley act, which applied only to observance of a cooling-off period; there would, in fact, be nothing to prevent the obtaining of a permanent injunction.

However compelling Mr. Goldberg's argument—and we find it completely convincing—this position put the C. I. O.'s counsel, for the moment, in the company of the bill's Republican opponents, who similarly argued that the government had no such inherent power. But for them, the corollary was that if the government really wants the kind of emergency power suggested by Clark, it should be expressly provided in the bill. In short, we now have three points of view on the subject: Clark's contention that the government may have recourse to the

Coming Soon in 'The Nation'

CAN A COMMUNIST BE A GOOD PROFESSOR?

Two points of view on the issue of academic freedom involved in the University of Washington dismissals. A discussion between Professor John L. Childs of Teachers College and Carey McWilliams, staff contributor.

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injunction in an emergency; the C. I. O.'s, that it has not and should not have such power; and the bill's opponents', that it has not but should.

Obviously, it was Clark who introduced the complication, needlessly in our opinion. The government's bill provides that in a national emergency the President may call upon both parties to observe a thirty-day cooling-off period, during which an Emergency Board appointed by himself would investigate and make findings, though it would have no enforcement power. Secretary of Labor Tobin had testified that the purpose of the bill, in this particular aspect, was to restore the voluntary approach in settling labor disputes, of whatever magnitude. He was derided for placing reliance on moral suasion, and Senator Aiken made a point of asking him whether John L. Lewis would pay any more attention to public opinion than he has paid in the past. But it seems to us that the Senator should have followed through on the subject of Mr. Lewis. It was not the Taft-Hartley act that stopped the coal miners' leader in his tracks but rather the government's power of seizure under the War Labor Disputes Act. That act is dead, and even if the Taft-Hartley law were left intact, the government would have no stronger weapon than moral suasion once its provision for an eighty-day cooling-off period had been observed. Under the new bill, that period has been reduced to thirty days, but whatever its length, a union has only to calculate the most effective date of a walk-out and set its strike vote back accordingly. An injunction provision to guarantee observance of the cooling-off period would not, therefore, give Senator Aiken the "teeth" he is seeking. All it would do is to give a liberal Administration's blessing to the use of the injunction in labor disputes, a development that union officials rightly fear and oppose, even though they may fear the looseness of the Clark interpretation even more.

Is there any sanction, then, that labor can accept in the control of strikes? The fundamental truth is that in a democracy men cannot be compelled to work, individually or collectively. National emergencies are rare, except in time of war, and then public opinion can be persuasive indeed, not to mention special war-time powers. Actually, labor leaders, as they will privately acknowledge, are compelled to move more cautiously when there is no prospect of an injunction than otherwise, knowing that they will not be saved from the consequences of rashness by government, on which they can then blame their failure. If the bill is passed in its present form, a sense of responsibility should weigh with added heaviness on union leaders, since the public is bound to make comparisons between the Taft-Hartley period and what follows—a point not likely to be lost on a labor movement grown acutely conscious of its role in politics.

Full Disclosure: Dangerous Precedent by Arthur Garfield Hays, which was printed in The Nation *of January 29, was to have been answered in an early issue by James Lawrence Fly. Completion of Mr. Fly's article has been delayed by the author's illness. It will, however, appear soon in these pages.*

America's China Policy

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

AT THE moment, two diametrically opposite views are being debated as to what our China policy should be. One opinion, expressed chiefly by supporters of Chiang Kai-shek or uncompromising advocates of the cold war, would have the United States encourage resistance by the remnants of the Chiang regime and impose a strict political and economic boycott on Communist China. The argument runs that since a Communist China is a potential ally of the Soviet Union, we should avoid any step which might strengthen the power of the new government in the event of an East-West war. An effective boycott, according to this view, would almost certainly bring about the downfall of the Communists, since China, more than any other country, stands in need of economic assistance from abroad.

In contrast, most American missionaries and business men in China feel that it would be wiser, from the standpoint of American as well as Chinese interests, to maintain contacts with the Chinese people no matter what their government may be. At least two of the principal American-supported universities—Yenching and Cheloo—have been operating successfully for some time in the Communist areas. In fact, Yenching borrowed money from local Communist authorities in order to meet its December pay roll. American business men, as Andrew Roth has pointed out, have also indicated that they intend to carry on under the Communists as long as possible. In this, they have undoubtedly been influenced by the earlier decision of the British to remain. Many of the Americans are reported to resent the fact that British diplomacy has been more successful than American in avoiding involvement in the civil conflict. For the moment, at least, British business interests are in a better position to develop trade relations with the Communists than their American competitors. But in this field, the British undoubtedly have more at stake—huge permanent investments in China which they are determined not to surrender unless absolutely necessary.

Few if any of the missionaries and business men who intend to remain in China have any sympathy with communism. But they insist that a boycott of China or a refusal to recognize a Communist regime would merely force China to turn to Russia for economic as well as

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political assistance. Instead of obtaining, from America and the West, the machinery and industrial equipment needed for reconstruction—with the long-term demand for spare parts and technical aid such purchases imply—China would industrialize its economy more slowly under Russian guidance.

Reports on the treatment of Americans in the areas that the Communists have already taken over have been reassuring so far. Many still wonder, however, what the attitude of the Communists will be when they have consolidated their position. Official statements by the leaders indicate that the presence of foreigners engaged in legitimate business and educational activities is much desired. But in the long run, their attitude may be determined by the attitude of the United States government toward the new regime. An application of the Truman Doctrine to China would lead the Communists to be suspicious of the activities of individual Americans and might ultimately lead to reprisals. On the other hand, continued trade and a program of economic aid such as was outlined in December by ECA Director Paul Hoffman might do much to restore American prestige and safeguard American interests.

THE showdown with respect to United States policy will come, of course, in connection with the recognition or non-recognition of the new coalition regime which the Communists have announced they intend to set up. Continued relations with a Kuomintang junta operating as a "government in exile" somewhere in Formosa or in South China would tremendously handicap American educational and business groups that are trying to continue their work in China proper. But recognition of a Communist regime, or of a coalition regime headed by Communists, would not be easy for Washington. It would seem inconsistent with our cold-war strategy. More important, since China holds a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council, recognition would give the Communist bloc an additional seat and an additional veto in that body. Actually, this point is not as serious as it may appear, since the shift of China's vote would not disturb the working majority the Western bloc holds in the Council, and since two vetos are no more effective than one.

In the final analysis, American policy toward the new Chinese regime may depend on whether or not our Far Eastern policy continues to be based, as so frequently in the past, upon European considerations. This has been partly due to the fact that, for reasons known only to the State Department itself, the China division has always been under the supervision of the Assistant Secretary who handles European affairs. It has been hinted that the reorganization Dean Acheson is planning will change this situation. If so, the chance that the China question will be faced in terms of Chinese and Far Eastern realities would be materially increased. For if the undeniable advantages of democracy are ever to become apparent to the hundreds of millions of Asiatics who are struggling to emerge as full-fledged participants in the modern world, contact must be kept, not only between governments, but between the peoples of East and West.

Hearings on the Hill

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, February 7

SENATOR ROBERT TAFT and his labor law played to full houses this week at the Senate Labor Committee hearings. Far from being in eclipse or in any sense on trial at these hearings, the Taft-Hartley philosophy and its most able exponent have taken the role of both prosecutor and accusing witness, while the Wagner act and the Truman Administration—the November election notwithstanding—have been placed somehow on the defensive. Nevertheless, Senator Taft's boast that the Administration would be forced to carry over about two-thirds of the Taft-Hartley act into the new labor law will probably be somewhat deflated when the votes are counted. For the Truman Administration continues to demonstrate its mastery of the art of politics, and it will probably wind up with a good many of the votes of Southern Democrats on which the Republicans are counting.

This probability was strengthened last week as the result of a strategic blunder committed by Senator Knowland of California at the Rules Committee's hearings on the filibuster. With the obvious intention of precipitating a final split between Northern and Southern Democrats, Senator Knowland announced that he would carry to the Senate floor a proposal now being considered by the Rules Committee the effect of which is to limit the effectiveness of a filibuster. As a member of the Republican majority of this committee during the Eightieth Congress, Senator Knowland himself helped to bottle up a similar proposal for about eighteen months. But as he said this week in blandly explaining his present impatience to force the issue to the Senate floor, "two wrongs don't make a right."

Knowland's motion, however, may actually have brought about a civil-rights compromise among the Senate Democrats, who immediately summoned a caucus

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and voted to consolidate their opposition to the Knowland motion when it is presented in the Senate. This meeting may have laid the basis for an agreement, involving of course major concessions by Administration leaders on the civil-rights bills, which will make it possible to get through a labor bill resembling the Wagner act more nearly than Taft-Hartley and to pass other Fair Deal social-welfare measures that would almost certainly have been defeated by a Republican-Dixiecrat coalition. Both Administration and Southern Democrats deny that such a compromise is under way. But spokesmen for several prominent Negro organizations say that it is.

A later statement by Senator Ellender of Louisiana may make necessary a long hedge on the question of Democratic cooperation beyond the vote on the Knowland motion. Ellender said he would attempt to send the labor bill back to the committee if hearings were "cut short"—that is, before the Republicans on the committee had worked it over to their satisfaction—and that the Senate would back him up if he attempted to do so. Whether he speaks for the majority of Southern Democrats is uncertain.

DURING the Labor Committee's hearings this week Taft again proved that he is about the best debater in the Senate. As for his all-round intelligence and breadth of outlook, that is another matter. As one dissenting admirer in the press gallery has expressed it, "Taft has the best mind in the Senate until he makes it up." Perhaps the key to his whole political philosophy was provided in a quaint remark he made about his father, the late President and Chief Justice: "Father was very liberal in his views on labor—but Father always ruled against economic boycotts." This was said in justification of the Taft-Hartley ban on secondary boycotts by labor unions; an example cited was the refusal of carpenters' locals in the Chicago area to use lumber shipped from struck mills on the West Coast. This boycott, of course, is a powerful labor weapon, and the Administration wants to restore it to the unions, only amending the Wagner act to prohibit the boycott in controversies that arise from union jurisdictional rivalries.

Besides the outright ban on boycotts, there are four other major provisions of the Taft-Hartley act which the Taft Republicans want inserted in the labor law now being written in the form of amendments to the Wagner act. These are the ban on the closed shop, injunction authority to enable the President to break strikes creating a national emergency, separation of the legal and administrative staffs of the NLRB, and a conciliation service independent of the Labor Department.

It is generally believed that President Truman himself wanted to retain the Taft-Hartley section giving him authority to break national-emergency strikes by means of an injunction. Labor groups strongly opposed this, however, and the President deferred to their wishes in the draft of the new law. From labor's point of view the Taft-Hartley injunction points back to the oppressive "yellow dog" labor contracts which employers often enforced by means of strike-breaking injunctions obtainable in federal courts. The Administration's divided outlook on the injunction matter was apparent, however, and Senator Taft exploited it during the hearings. If any Taft-Hartley sections are actually retained by amendment on the floor of Congress, there seems little doubt that the injunction provision will be one.

Senator Taft told the press this week that he is attempting "to prevent domination of this Congress by the emotionalism on which its members came in." And young Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, the man who fought for the civil-rights platform at Philadelphia and thereby made possible the Democratic victory, seems to symbolize in Taft's mind everything that is wrong with the liberal movement. Humphrey for his part tackled Taft time after time during the hearings. Generally Humphrey got trimmed in debate on the actual point at issue, while managing to spread a general and philosophical criticism of Taft's whole outlook across the record. Taft finally adopted the tactic of ignoring Humphrey's remarks, returning immediately to the questioning of witnesses when the younger Senator had made his point.

TWO themes run through committee hearings on every major bill—the theme of social welfare and of the rugged individual. From one committee room to another the same basic arguments are repeated over and over—as they have been since 1932—with only details and figures changing. In hearings of the House Labor Committee on minimum-wage legislation big, bluff Representative Barden of North Carolina, who had "plowed a mule since he was high enough to reach the plow handles," clashed with the attorney for the Garment Workers, who argued that a high minimum wage was a good thing for the whole economy as well as for the workers.

Before a subcommittee of the House Agriculture Committee the have and have-not issue was expressed in terms of cotton acreage. James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers' Union, clashed with Representative Gathings of Arkansas and other spokesmen for the plantation and share-cropper economy. The union wants a guaranteed income for a great many small farmers. The planters oppose this as socialism, rank paternalism. They want the present acreage-allotment system, under which guaranties are larger for the planters.

After listening to the kind of economic folklore and mysticism which led to the 1929 crash, apple selling, and

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Hoovervilles at the city dumps, it is somewhat startling to go into a committee room where Hoover himself, in a most direct and commonplace manner, is giving testimony. He has become a familiar figure in the Capitol through his work as chairman of the Commission on the Reorganization of Government.

Hoover in real life bears almost no resemblance to the Hoover of the legend—the pudgy man in the high collar who seemed made for caricature and satire. Actually he is a tall, well-proportioned, pleasant-looking man whose appearance belies his seventy-four years. He wears a soft collar now and a debonair mauve overcoat. And as he gives his competent and precise testimony, there is no mention of those vivid, sorrowful images of the depression—the Oakies, the dust bowl, home relief, soup kitchens, the unemployed—which are irrevocably connected with the name and the political philosophy of Herbert Hoover.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Labor's Triple Choice

WHAT might by now have been powerful political currents in the C. I. O., instead of mere tendencies, cropped out at a relatively unnoticed meeting held in Milwaukee two weeks ago. The gathering was a four-day educational conference of the United Automobile Workers, and all that prevented the three-way division of opinion from biting deeper than it did was the magnificent failure of the voters last November to honor the word of the prophets. In the light of that prior fact the differences at Milwaukee may have seemed a bit remote, but they are there all the same, and a change in circumstances may yet make them anything but academic.

Taking the three points of view at their respective extremes, we find a division something like this:

1. Labor's future lies entirely with the Democratic Party.

2. Labor must not depend on any party or on any outside organization, however friendly, but should concentrate on its own non-partisan political agencies, such as the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee.

3. Labor can trust only to a party of its own, and the sooner it forms one the better.

Advocacy of the first of these courses fell largely to Representative Andrew J. Biemiller, of Wisconsin, who summed up his unequivocal views as follows:

> . . . labor is through chasing the third-party rainbow. The election proved that a genuine, liberal, non-Communist labor party is not necessary, nor a united-front party wanted. It proved that the Democratic Party has become the party to which intelligent union men and women can and will rally.

The response of the conferees, according to my informants, was considerably less than deafening. In the U. A. W.'s home state of Michigan the Democratic Party is actually controlled in good part by the C. I. O. and Americans for Democratic Action, which together put young G. Mennen Williams in the governor's mansion, and the same situation prevails in other areas. Yet the delegates seemed unmoved by the Biemiller thesis that the Democratic Party was really their party.

On the other hand, they were no more aroused by Jack Kroll's argument that P. A. C., of which he is the national director, is all that is needed, that labor must at all costs maintain its independence, having as little truck as possible with political parties as such. They felt he was doctrinaire in suggesting that whatever understandings P. A. C. and the A. D. A. might reach at the top, "on a local level, our people should lay off A. D. A. and work through P. A. C." In addition, it was felt that Kroll should not have made such a statement without consulting C. I. O. leaders, many of whom are high in the councils of the A. D. A.

The enthusiasm of many of the delegates appeared to be reserved for Opinion Number Three, advanced almost truculently by Professor Robert S. Lynd, of Columbia University. No reliance, he said, could be placed on "a kind of Democratic Santa Claus," nor could labor hope to go on winning concessions from industry indefinitely by "riding the tail of the profit system." Apparently straining to avoid the academic approach—and succeeding—Lynd concluded:

> It is up to labor to cut through this phony ballyhoo for management-labor cooperation and all that tripe. I think the time has come for an all-out labor party. The labor party will not be worth a damn if it simply tries to take over the Democratic Party.

The United Automobile Workers, with its unusual quota of Socialists and mavericks, is hardly typical of the C. I. O., much less of the labor movement as a whole, but Walter Reuther might well have made it the base for just such an emergent labor party if the Democrats had taken the beating that was expected of them. In the circumstances, however, Reuther is far too shrewd to lend himself to so untimely a move. The unions now have a heavy stake in the Democratic Party, as the Administration's labor bill bears eloquent witness. It would be fatuous if not suicidal to follow up a success of such magnitude by turning on the party that labor worked so hard to elect.

Nevertheless, the implications of the Milwaukee meeting should not be lost on the Administration or on

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Democratic Party leaders. The mere fact that only three months after the election 2,500 delegates of a powerful union can spend four days in discussing basic political alignments is in itself remarkable. At the very least it serves notice that labor is not automatically to be regarded as having been safely stowed away in the Democratic pocket. The attitude of Reuther and other U. A. W. leaders is strictly wait-and-see. They are for making a determined effort, mostly by way of the A. D. A., to save the Democrats from their own internal weaknesses, to force to the ultimate the issue with the tories, North and South, in the hope that a reconstructed party may yet become the political arm for labor that Mr. Biemiller thinks it already is. Should that effort fail, there will be time enough to think seriously about an independent course. A national labor party will require more than the U. A. W. as a base, and a more coherent philosophy of government, appropriate to the United States, than has yet been advanced—in or out of the trade unions.

Bridewell Revisited

BY EDWIN J. LUKAS

NOT since the Sacco-Vanzetti affair has the collective stability of Massachusetts been jolted so violently as by the current Van Waters episode. An effort is being made to remove from her post as Superintendent of the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women at Framingham that singularly enlightened penologist Dr. Miriam Van Waters. After holding the position for seventeen years she is now charged with malfeasance and misfeasance in office. In a letter sent to Dr. Van Waters by Elliott E. McDowell, Commissioner of Corrections for Massachusetts, twenty-six instances of wrongdoing are cited, among them the following: (a) permitting prisoners to attend outside motion-picture shows; (b) authorizing prisoners to be taken to a dairy stand with institutional personnel; (c) authorizing a prisoner to study at a nearby secretarial school unattended; (d) employing as officers and employees some ex-inmates of the reformatory and other penal institutions; (e) failing to prevent, and knowingly permitting, homosexuality at the institution; (f) intrusting keys of the institution to inmates; (g) indenturing inmates to residents of the community for forbidden purposes; (h) failing to provide proper supervision for certain inmates, or disregarding classifications established for personnel.

These items were selected at random, but they are typical. No one would deny that they are serious charges and worthy of a searching inquiry. That inquiry is now in progress, and as this is written no final decision has been reached. Before the evidence is all in, it may be inappropriate to comment on the merits of the proceedings, but an examination of the scene in which the inquiry is set is very much in order.

The Boston *Traveller* charges editorially that the action was instigated by Hearst tabloids, under a "cloak of sanctity," upon grounds that were blown up to the point of grotesque distortion. The object, it was suggested, was to titillate readers and boost circulation figures with a tantalizingly oblique reportage of homosexuality and promises of even more purple disclosures. At least one other paper has implied that the dominant motive behind the charges is the desire to replace the politically independent Dr. Van Waters by another woman with high-placed backers.

These explanations, however plausible, disarmingly oversimplify the situation. To Dr. Van Waters's friends and to many American penologists her case is a dramatic expression of the conflict between progressive penology, which experiments with techniques for the individualized rehabilitation of inmates of institutions, and outmoded cynical penology, which is anchored rigidly to the concept of repression and to punishment for its own sake. The Bridewell of sixteenth-century London used that kind of treatment.

In today's thinking anti-social behavior in our culture is considered to be the product of unique economic, social, and psychological factors existing in each offender's past history. The return of offenders to the community as safe risks, it is held, calls for treatment procedures which will reach the offender on all three levels, not merely for punitive action. This is not sentimentality; realistic penologists avoid the "tear-duct" approach just as they avoid the "tear-gas" approach. The basic question in the Van Waters case, therefore, is whether, at the threshold of a new era in the rehabilitation of offenders, we are prepared to scrap all recent scientific knowledge of the causes of crime and revert to the dark days which gave us the first Bridewell.

The Bridewell was, among other things, a workhouse for the punishment of "dissolute women who are preying on society." It was there, in the thirty-first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that the Justices of the

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Peace, in solemn conclave, ordered that "every strong and sturdy rogue at . . . her entrance into the said house shall have twelve stripes upon [her] bare skin. And everyone of them without fail . . . shall have put upon her some clog, chain, collar of iron, or manacle . . . so that she shall be quiet and do no hurt." Besides the discipline of work programs harsh punishments were employed, including "restriction of diet" and forms of torture that would revolt all but the former administrators of Dachau.

THE Massachusetts Reformatory for Women, opened in 1878, represents one of this country's early awkward efforts to introduce some decency and humanity into the imprisonment of women. With a normal capacity of 344, it houses an average of 415 inmates. The buildings are antiquated, the only new additions being two cottages erected in 1936. It receives female prisoners, without age limit, classified as felons, misdemeanants, prostitutes, and defective delinquents. Many adolescents sent there have committed no offense but are charged, rather quaintly, with being in "manifest danger of falling into habits of vice." Narcotic addicts and inebriates who commit themselves voluntarily for lodging and treatment must be received, as well as all prisoners sent by the courts. About 75 per cent are not criminals in the classic sense.

Against tremendous odds Dr. Van Waters and her predecessor changed the reformatory from a prison dedicated to the retributive doctrine to an institution using modern rehabilitative techniques. They encountered many frustrating problems. For example, though psychiatry is considered indispensable in progressive correctional work, the only psychiatric personnel serving the institution—except for the state alienist, who is on call for occasional cases of especially disordered inmates (psychotics)—has visited it but one day a week, and then mostly for diagnostic purposes. The funds for this service come not from the state but from a private agency interested in the welfare of the inmates.

It is impossible to weigh the charges or appraise adequately the terrible implications of the removal proceedings without recalling Dr. Van Waters's background. She is acclaimed everywhere as an uncommon penologist who has rendered distinguished service. She is sixty-two years old, holds an A.B. and an A.M. from the University of Oregon, a Ph.D. in anthropology from Clark University, and an LL.D. from Smith College. She has been superintendent of the Juvenile Court Detention Home in Los Angeles, a referee of the Los Angles County Juvenile Court, director of the Juvenile Delinquency Section of the Harvard Law School Crime Survey, and consultant in juvenile delinquency for the famous Wickersham Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. She was long chairman of the Committee on Women's Institutions of the American Prison Association, and is the author of numerous monographs and a few books which are often made required reading for students preparing to enter the field. As recently as 1945 she was awarded the Herbert C. Parsons memorial citation by the United Prison Association of Massachusetts, for "meritorious service in the correctional field." As a recipient of that award she is bracketed with the most distinguished penologists this country has produced.

Drawing by Golden

Dr. Van Waters's accuser, Commissioner McDowell, is not a career penologist but an industrial engineer. Fifteen years ago he was engaged as senior structural engineer supervising the building of the new Massachusetts prison colony at Norfolk. When the buildings were completed, he stayed on as supervisor of the workshops. About a year and a half ago Governor Bradford appointed him Commissioner of Corrections. His deputy, Dwyer, who is presenting the evidence at the ouster hearings, is a former state trooper who after long service became personal bodyguard to former Governor Charles Hurley. In August, 1937, presumably as a reward for his services, the Governor made him Deputy Commissioner.

DR. VAN WATERS'S reply to McDowell's notice was simple, factual, and eloquent. First she denied the truth of most of the charges and then asserted four facts which tend to negate the gravity of those that are partly true: (1) *every* act which McDowell claims was against the law—such as indenturing inmates for other than domestic service or permitting inmates to pursue outside activities—was the equal responsibility of one of McDowell's predecessors in office, who gave written permission for those acts; (2) *every* act which McDowell says circumvented the sentence and order of the courts—such as permission to inmates to make extra-mural visits, or employing as staff members ex-inmates of the reformatory or other institutions—had the express consent of the then commissioner or his deputy; (3) *every* act criticized as not conducive to the welfare of inmates—such as permitting visits by ex-inmates or intrusting keys to some rooms of the institution to a few inmates—had either not occurred or was done with the knowledge of the then commissioner; and (4) *every* complaint of improper inmate supervision—such as failing to prevent homosexual practices among inmates—or disregard of personnel classification, so far as this complaint was justi-

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fied, was the result of chronic understaffing and could have been remedied if Dr. Van Waters had obtained the budgetary increases she repeatedly requested.

Penetrating the jungle of conflicting testimony, we find that Dr. Van Waters has marshaled convincing evidence to reinforce her reply. But though she is displaying great courage, the traveling may yet be hard for her. The machinery applicable to her case is cumbersome; hearings on charges preferred *by* the Commissioner of Corrections are conducted in the first instance *before* the Commissioner. If the Commissioner sustains his own charges, as may be expected, Dr. Van Waters will have a hearing before an impartial commission of three members appointed by the Governor.

THE first hearing, before Commissioner McDowell, is still in progress, after three continuous weeks, as I write. The testimony being elicited is of a character designed to cause persons unacquainted with institutional regimes to imagine that Framingham was a den of unparalleled iniquity. The whole sorry mess, now lavishly spread over the front page of nearly every Massachusetts newspaper, seems to have been started about a year and a half ago. An inmate died under circumstances which led a state senator to charge that the girl had been murdered. The evidence to support this assertion was so flimsy that Dwyer somewhat belatedly conceded that the girl "died as a result of suicide." (She is reported to have been an emotionally disturbed girl who should never have been sent to the reformatory.) But the unsubstantiated charge, together with hints of rampant "immorality" at the institution, inspired a legislative investigation; on the basis of a subsequent report by Dwyer, Commissioner McDowell removed Dr. Van Waters.

In determining whether this explosive situation occurred adventitiously or as part of an established pattern, a fact of almost pathological significance should be borne in mind. In the recent past Massachusetts has earned the unenviable reputation of briefly enjoying and then, for one reason or another, forfeiting the services of some unusually gifted correctional officials. Among them I may mention Sanford Bates, New Jersey's Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies; Francis Sayre, now president of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations; John S. Dickey, now president of Dartmouth College; Frank Loveland, now with the federal Bureau of Prisons; and Richard Winslow, now secretary of the United States delegation to the U. N.

The suspicion that the removal proceedings transcend a mere complaint over Dr. Van Waters's derelictions in administrative details and reflect fundamental disagreement with her interpretation of the spirit of the law seems well founded in at least several respects. Take the disapproval of indenture for other than domestic service: this is a nineteenth-century concept which the enlargement of vocational opportunities for women has caused to be generally abandoned. Massachusetts could hardly be expected to ignore a practice which has proved successful everywhere else. As to the employment of former inmates as members of the staff—surely if they are rehabilitated, the state should be as willing to employ them as private industry. Criticism of extra-mural activities under proper supervision can be answered by pointing out that if this is forbidden, the state should furnish the facilities and equipment for a diversified program within the institution—which it has not done.

Enough has been said to indicate that Dr. Van Waters's enemies may be guilty of patent unfairness or naivete, or both. There is certainly ample evidence of naivete in the accusation that she has failed to "prevent homosexuality." From Dr. Van Waters's record as an administrator we know that she must have made an honest effort to minimize it, but in the words of Austin H. MacCormick, executive director of the Osborne Association, "one must be realistic and face the fact that such behavior goes on in greater or less degree among the inmates of virtually every [correctional] institution in the country." According to Dr. Robert M. Lindner, a seasoned correctional psychologist, "the sex problem in prison is perhaps the most important one of all for inmates and officials alike."

Some persons feel that the Commissioner exhibited even greater naivete when he piously objected to Dr. Van Waters's hiring of a few ex-offenders as members of her staff. Quite apart from Dr. Van Waters's sound defense of the practice—that it is "conducive to the highest morale to employ certain rehabilitated persons who by their example prove the value of the system of correction"—the complaint must seem not a little amusing to Bostonians who welcomed back to his office as Mayor of Boston one James Michael Curley after he had served a sentence for fraud in a federal penitentiary.

On the "indenturing" issue it should be noted that Dr. Van Waters is an articulate advocate of the community-plus-the-institution type of treatment. Within limits and in proper instances she believes that this practice offers rehabilitative prospects. She is convinced that with the institution as a teaching ground and anchorage, and with the community as an occupational medium, success in treatment is better assured than with the old-fashioned system of isolation. The record of her achievement demonstrates the validity of her theory.

It happens that indenturing—by which is meant permitting inmates nearly ready for release to accept work in the community while living at the institution—is an ancient custom in Massachusetts. However, under the law enacted in 1879 females are restricted to service as domestics. Dr. Van Waters permitted a number of girls to be indentured for work better suited to their vocational aptitudes—for example, as waitresses or laundresses—

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but the testimony is uncontradicted that in every case she obtained a written permit from the Commissioner. The superintendent *may* not and *did* not indenture without the commissioner's approval.

Under the most favorable conditions correctional work presents almost insuperable difficulities. Anti-social behavior is only a symptom; it is the offender, not merely the offense, with whom we must reckon. There is no magical formula to apply, no ideological D. D. T. to spray over anti-social human beings to change them into conformists. Each calls for highly differentiated handling, within the limitations of institutional life. That public acceptance of this idea has made enormous strides is plain from the militancy of Dr. Van Waters's defenders.

The real issue in the case, as has been said, is not whether any or all of the twenty-six specifications are true or false: it is not even whether Dr. Van Waters committed the errors of judgment which all but perfectionists would expect from a person in her position. Many of the charges rest on technical violations of ancient statutes that, as Austin H. MacCormick has observed, should be changed "so that the law will give the institution wider latitude." The critical issue is whether the philosophy of correction which Dr. Van Waters represents in the contemporary scene is to survive and prosper or be scuttled.

The A. M. A.'s Slush Fund

BY LEONARD ENGEL

TO PREVENT enactment of national health insurance by the Eighty-first Congress, the American Medical Association has set out to raise one of the biggest lobbying funds in history. A few weeks after the election made it clear that there would be a President and Congress friendly to national health insurance, the A. M. A.'s House of Delegates met in St. Louis and levied an assessment of $25 against every member of the association. Since the A. M. A. is a tax-exempt, non-profit organization forbidden to lobby, it announced that the money was to be used "for a nation-wide plan of education on the progress of American medicine, the importance of the conservation of health, and the advantages of the American system in securing a wide distribution of a high quality of medical care." But editorials in the *Journal* of the association make no bones about the fact that large sums are to be spent to defeat the 1949 version of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. In fact, the purpose of the assessment appears so blatantly political that a storm is gathering within the association.

Since the A. M. A. has about 140,000 members, the assessment was expected to bring in $3,500,000, but only 40 or 50 per cent of this will actually be collected. Opposition to the levy has already appeared in Washington, Baltimore, Los Angeles, New York, and other cities. In Washington, for example, the local medical society has been forced to submit the assessment to a referendum by mail; in Brooklyn members of the Kings County Medical Society voted down a resolution of indorsement and adopted one of disapproval. The opposition is not confined to supporters of national health insurance. I looked through two days' replies to a letter attacking the assessment sent out by the Physicians' Forum, an advocate of national health insurance, and found that the great majority were from non-members of the Forum who were "filled with shame at the disgrace of the medical profession raising a political slush fund."

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The A. M. A. is not a general membership organization but a federation of state and county medical societies. Its Executive Committee, the real power in the organization, is appointed by the Board of Trustees, which is named in turn by the House of Delegates; the latter is chosen, not by the general membership, but by the houses of delegates of the state societies. This made it simple for the A. M. A.'s leaders to order the assessment. Collection, however, as Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the A. M. A. *Journal,* has admitted, is up to the state and county societies. Several of these plan to make the assessment voluntary, and as a whole they are moving very slowly; assessment bills have actually been sent out in only one state, Louisiana.

The campaign against health-insurance legislation will be conducted by Whitaker and Baxter, the San Francisco public-relations firm which defeated Governor Warren's plan for health insurance in California in 1945. It will be shouted that the United States has the best medical care in the world—though Scandinavia has lower death rates—and that Britain's compulsory health-insurance scheme is a failure, which it emphatically is not. Government insurance, it will be said, limits a person's choice of a doctor and destroys the "sacred" patient-doctor relationship. And there will be praise for Blue Cross hospitalization and Blue Shield, "the doctor's own medical plan," as voluntary health-insurance plans capable of meeting all our needs.

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The A. M. A.'s real attitude toward pre-payment plans, even on a voluntary basis, is shown by two recent incidents. A few months ago Dr. Paul Hawley, who reorganized the Veterans' Administration medical service, proposed that the Blue Cross and Blue Shield organizations unite to form a national corporation empowered to write uniform hospitalization and medical insurance policies for groups of subscribers in two or more states. The American Hospital Association, sponsor of Blue Cross, indorsed the plan enthusiastically as a practical solution of the problem of signing up national unions and employers, most of whom dislike having to deal with the many local Blue Cross or Blue Shield units. Such a national corporation was also approved by the A. M. A. officials who work with Blue Shield. But at the St. Louis meeting where the assessment was ordered the A. M. A. House of Delegates voted down the proposal on the astonishing ground that the corporation might violate the anti-trust laws. The corporation is now being launched without A. M. A. support. Perhaps even more revealing is the fact that some months ago the A. M. A. canceled the Blue Cross coverage of its headquarters employees, substituting an ordinary commercial cash-indemnity sickness policy.

The resentment of A. M. A. members against the recent assessment has been aggravated by the current comment on the Truman Administration's health program in the *Journal*. Editorials in the December 25 and January 1 issues attempt to discredit national health insurance by attacking its leading supporters. Oscar R. Ewing, administrator of the Federal Security Agency, Dr. Channing Frothingham of the Committee for the Nation's Health, Dr. John P. Peters of Yale, the economist Dr. Michael H. Davis, and Dr. Ernst Boas of the Physicians' Forum are subjected to personal vilification of a kind hitherto found only in the crackpot gutter press. Dr. Morris Fishbein apparently expects these remarks to strike a responsive chord among medical men. Most of those I have talked to, however, are disgusted by such affronts to the dignity of their profession.

Poison on the Air?

BY ARTHUR D. MORSE

> I own this station lock, stock, and barrel and that's the way it's going to be . . . now the God Damn Kikes and Communists and union racketeers are screaming their heads off for ridiculous wages—trying to ruin good Americans. Why Washington is full of Jews and niggers, running the government . . . unless you are a Jew you can't get even a government job now.—George A. Richards to William Pennell, February 5, 1946, according to a sworn statement, filed with the FCC, by William Pennell.
>
> Radio can serve as an instrument of democracy only when devoted to the communication of information and the exchange of ideas fairly and objectively presented . . . as one licensed to operate in a public domain, the licensee has assumed the obligation of presenting all sides of important public questions, fairly, objectively, and without bias. The public interest—not the private—is paramount.—From the Mayflower decision of the Federal Communications Commission.

ON FEBRUARY 21 the Federal Communications Commission, which is responsible for guarding the interests of the American people in the radio channels of the *public domain*, will begin hearings on charges filed against George A. Richards, chairman of the board of the Goodwill Stations—KMPC, Los Angeles; WJR, Detroit; and WGAR, Cleveland. According to sworn affidavits, this broadcaster has acted in a manner which amounts to a flagrant violation of the commission's own so-called Mayflower rule. It is charged that Richards, whose three 50,000-watt stations are heard by millions, has ordered his newscasters deliberately to distort and suppress news in order to present his personal political beliefs and violent anti-minority prejudices. These charges are attested to in many photostatic copies of memoranda, letters, and sworn statements filed with the FCC, some of them unearthed by the commission's own investigators.

Unfortunately, the nature of the FCC order directing a public hearing is such that it cannot result in an immediate determination of Richards's right to hold his licenses. The purpose of the hearing, says the FCC, is—as in many preliminary FCC inquiries—simply to determine whether further proceedings are warranted with respect to the licenses of Stations KMPC, WJR, and WGAR. Thus it is in effect a hearing on the necessity for a hearing. Under the terms of the order the licenses of Richards's stations cannot be revoked on the strength of this preliminary hearing, even though it may be shown that Richards had not used the public channels in the "public interest, convenience, or necessity," *as required by law*. The evidence which has been presented to the FCC is enormous and calls for a conclusive hear-

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ing. Here are the facts as they appear from the affidavits submitted:

On February 28, 1948, the Radio News Club of Hollywood, an organization of seventy-odd Southern California newscasters, filed a complaint with the FCC stating that Richards had given instructions to members of the KMPC news staff to slant, distort, suppress, and alter news to promote his private views; that he had dismissed a member of the staff because of his refusal to obey these orders; and that he had directed that specified newspaper editorials selected by himself be broadcast over the station.

THE amusement-trade publication, *Billboard*, broke the story on March 6, 1948, quoting excerpts of letters from Richards to Clete Roberts, KMPC's director of news and special events. One, headed "Clete: read this to our boys and meet often to do this Job," ran in part as follows:

> I believe in making a chump out of the Adm at every turn as Roosevelt did for 15 years— Give 'em hell where it hurts. . . . The J. Roosevelt story on 3d child should be elaborated on by our station. He has been married ? times to ? who and what is their history and hook Elliott up with his burlesque queene and other wife. They are the rum pots dead end Kids of the Royal Family that all but wrecked the world— If these facts are nailed down we can win in 1948. If not *no*. . . . The Catholics are good subjects to work on as they think more of their Church duties than protestants as a rule and they have for most part voted Dem. They can be changed over by *hard work*. And that's what is cut out for *us all* in 1948. (so Let's go all out) GAR.

A photostat of this letter is partially reproduced on page 185.

In another letter to Roberts Richards said: "General MacArthur is a great man who believes in Christianity and our way of life etc etc. Who if called upon to be our president would become one of the greatest leaders and Crusaders of all time etc. Get this over. Again again and again. GAR." Roberts, by the way, says in his affidavit that he was discharged by Richards for refusing to slant a broadcast to favor MacArthur. On September 3 Richards wrote Roberts: "Inclosed find a good editorial from the Hearst paper which should get on our air—over, and over, and over again. GAR." Similar instructions are made in another letter to Roberts inclosing an editorial by Malcolm Bingay attacking Roosevelt and Truman: "Here is a good editorial by Bingay—Put on the air." Speaking of New Dealers, the same letter says, "Beat them to the punch—Accuse them of everything under the sun."

In a sworn statement made on February 27, 1948, now filed with the FCC, Clete Roberts said: "Mr. Richards made it clear to me that he wanted all news broadcasts and commentaries 'slanted' in favor of his, the Republican, party." Richards also ordered him, he said, to "delete all news items favorable to Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas, whom he charged with consorting with Jews," and to slant all news stories "so as to discredit the late President Roosevelt." In addition, Roberts said:

> Mr. Richards ordered me to instruct the KMPC newsmen to make a policy of seeking out stories unfavorable to Jews. For example, he desired that stories relating to Jews involved in criminal proceedings be linked with or followed by items concerning Communists. He told me that it was his desire that Communist-Jew be linked together whenever possible for the radio listener.

It should be mentioned that Roberts was one of the most highly respected commentators on the West Coast. At Bikini he made the pool broadcast of the atomic detonation for the four major networks. Before this assignment he was thoroughly investigated by the army, the navy, and the FBI.

Billboard of March 6, 1948, also published the signed statement, now in FCC files, of George E. Lewin, former KMPC newsroom manager. Lewin said that Richards had told him to seek items derogatory to the Truman Administration, to plug for General MacArthur and Thomas E. Dewey, "to keep hammering at the Jews, who are all Communists," to follow any statement about Communists with a disparaging story about a member of the Roosevelt family, to give long treatment to charges against David Lilienthal and to suppress anything favorable to him, since "Lilienthal was a Communist." Lewin says he was also ordered to stop broadcasting stories about events in Palestine. That was in December, 1947, and Richards said, according to Lewin's statement, that "publicizing the situation in Palestine would give aid and comfort to Jews and Communists."

Others who came under Richards's control say that their experiences paralleled those of Roberts and Lewin. William Pennell, a news commentator whose program was sponsored by Paramount Pictures, in a sworn statement dated March 29, 1948, also given to the FCC, declares that on his second program he condemned the Congressmen then filibustering against the Fair Employment Practices bill. Immediately after the broadcast, Pennell says, he was summoned by Richards and treated to the remarks quoted at the head of this article.

THE American Jewish Congress filed with the FCC a petition for the revocation of KMPC's license on April 10, 1948. The petition cited information given by Maurice Starrels, a former news writer and editor of the station. Starrels said he was directed by Richards to emphasize that the murdered gangster "Bugsy" Siegel was Jewish and was buried in a Jewish cemetery with the

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funeral service conducted by a rabbi, and to couple the story with items about Russia and communism. He was also directed, he says, to emphasize Lilienthal's religion and foreign extraction and to play up the scandal involving General Bennett E. Meyers in such a way as to make Meyers appear Jewish, although he is not.

The FCC had already ordered an investigation on March 19, 1948, on the basis of the Radio News Club's charges. Since then many new facts have been unearthed, some by the FCC investigators. Several of the most significant ones are contained in an affidavit filed with the FCC by another KMPC newscaster, who must remain anonymous here. This statement is particularly interesting in view of Richards's later assertions that his employees knew his utterances were "not intended to be literally carried out."

This newscaster says that Richards made about four telephone calls to him every morning concerning news which was to be inserted in morning and afternoon broadcasts. Richards designated the lead stories, choosing those with ideas which he considered important. The newscaster describes two of these "important" leads:

> I can recall one particular radio news lead which was picked up from the back pages of a newspaper concerning four men who were fined and jailed for black-market operations. Mr. Richards had called this article to my attention over the phone and instructed me to particularly stress the names of the defendants, which he said were Jewish. He said that it was about time that these "God-damned black-marketing Jews were exposed to good Americans for what they were." . . . When Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was involved in an automobile accident in 1946, Mr. Richards telephoned me and asked me whether it would not be possible to intimate that Mrs. Roosevelt had not fallen asleep at the wheel of her car as the newspaper account stated but that she was intoxicated.

Among other documents on file at FCC is a letter to Richards, dated July 11, 1947, on the letterhead of the Republican National Committee and signed by Edward T. Ingle, Director of Radio. It refers to Republican transcriptions which were being forwarded to KMPC. At the bottom of the page, in Richards's handwriting and followed by his initials, is written, "Bob [Robert O. Reynolds, General Manager of KMPC], Clete [Roberts] —See that we get these records on and boosted if good and write Ingle."

There is also a letter to Richards from Representative Bertrand W. Gearhart (Rep., Cal.) describing the Taft-Hartley act as "a workingman's Bill of Rights." Appended, in Richards's handwriting, are these instructions to Roberts: "Clete—Use the Working Mans Bill of Rights over and over on newscasts."

This is only a fraction of the evidence, but space does not permit more extensive quotation. It is difficult, therefore, to understand why the FCC does not feel obliged to hold a conclusive hearing.

In May, 1948, several months after the complaints against him were filed, Richards hired Frank E. Mullen, former executive vice-president of NBC, as president of his chain. Richards turned over operational control to Mullen but retained his majority interest in the three stations. Mullen, who is said to receive a $100,000 salary plus stock, has been attempting to defend the chain's past record. When advised of the FCC hearing he denied the charges and reiterated that "the public-service record of the three stations is outstanding in every respect." In addition, the stations have been publishing full-page advertisements in trade journals loudly proclaiming their Americanism.

ON SEPTEMBER 13 Richards complied with an FCC request for an affidavit answering the charges. In it he describes his opposition to Communists and fascists who would "take away or restrict the equal opportunities that American boys and girls have to make good." After developing coronary thrombosis in 1938, he says, his enforced physical inactivity made him impulsive so that he expressed himself "in an extreme or exaggerated manner either orally or in written memoranda." His employees, he adds, construe his "impulsive utterances in the light of what they know to be [his] real underlying feelings, and . . . act accordingly," and he insists that his employees "know that such utterances . . . are not intended to be literally carried out." Contradicting this are many statements by former employees declaring that Richards's top administrative assistants gave specific instructions to members of the news staff that Richards's word was law and was to be followed without question.

In countering the charge of prejudice against minorities made by former staff members Richards says, "Affiant's background and his bringing up by his mother have made him tolerant of all beliefs except where they threaten the security of the country . . . affiant does not have, and never has had, any prejudice against any religious or racial groups and has tried to work for the time when all such prejudices can be forgotten and buried."

The order for a public hearing was issued on November 12, 1948. Referring to the data received from the complainants and from Richards, the FCC stated that the information "raises substantial questions with respect to the qualifications of the . . . licensee and of G. A. Richards, controlling stockholder."

Unquestionably the FCC has the power to revoke licenses. The Communications Act of 1934 says in Section 312 (a) that any station license may be revoked for "failure to observe any of the restrictions and conditions of the act or any regulation of the commission."

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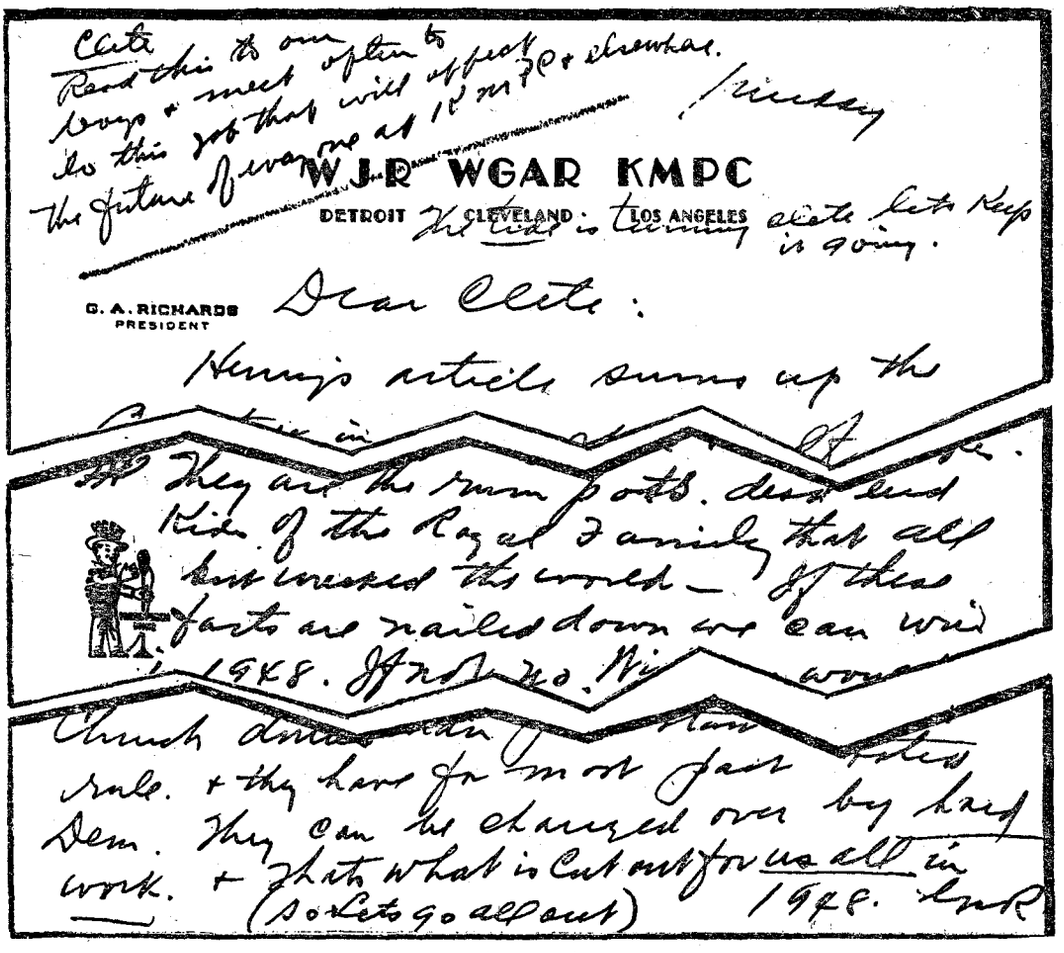

It is up to the FCC to determine whether Richards's stations operated "in the public interest." The FCC's Blue Book of 1946 covers the entire question of the public-service responsibility of licensees and points out that as early as 1928 its predecessor, the Federal Radio Commission, declared: "Broadcasting stations are licensed to serve the public and not for the purpose of furthering the private or selfish interest of individuals or groups of individuals. The standard of public interest, convenience, or necessity means nothing if it does not means this."

In another relevant section of the Blue Book the FCC says, "The commission is required by the statute to review periodically the station's operation, in order to determine whether the station has in fact been operated in the public interest. Certainly the establishment of sound station policy with respect to news, information, and the discussion of public issues is a major factor in operation in the public interest."

In April, 1948, in a decision denying the application of the New York *Daily News* for a permit to construct an FM station, the FCC ruled: "The fairness with which a licensee deals with particular racial or religious groups in the community, in the exercise of his power to determine who can broadcast what over his facilities, is clearly a substantial aspect of his operation in the public interest."

As recently as January 22 of this year, FCC Chairman Wayne Coy, speaking to the editors of the *Yale Law Journal*, said:

> The commission has . . . not rested content with the conclusion that operation in the public interest and the preservation of radio as a medium of free expression require only that the licensee refrain from affirmative acts of unfairness and discrimination. For the commission has consistently held that the licensee is under a duty to make affirmative efforts to serve the needs and interests of his community.

Mr. Coy promised further to take every opportunity to curtail the freedom of stations which use their licenses for their own private benefit rather than for the public interest.

The National Association of Broadcasters, the most powerful industry group, which has often tried to emasculate the FCC, says in its "Standards of Practice" that "American broadcasting is a living symbol of democracy." Its Broadcaster's Creed is a pledge to "respect the rights and sensitivities of all people . . . protect and uphold the dignity and brotherhood of all mankind." "News reporting," it says, "should be factual, fair, and without bias. Commentary and analysis should be clearly identified as such." As for religion, it maintains that "broadcasting, which reaches men of all creeds simultaneously, should avoid attacks upon religion."

How does the N. A. B. square these principles with the evidence in the Richards case? Not a word on the subject has it uttered. The fact is that in spite of the noble phraseology of the "Standards of Practice" there is powerful opposition to the code among broadcasters and therefore little hope for its enforcement.

Under these circumstances, with the hearings scheduled to begin in February in Los Angeles and to be followed by sessions in Detroit and Cleveland, the only protection for the public is its own vigilance. Write to the FCC at the New Post Office Building, Washington 25, D. C., and tell it whether, on the basis of the evidence, you feel that the public interest is served by George A. Richards and his Goodwill stations.

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Facts on Franchise

BY ANITA MARBURG

Boulder, Colorado, February 7

THE thermometer at Boulder stood near zero on the night of January 18. On University Hill the theater was alight for the touring New York musical, "Show Boat." But the real drama of that evening was staged in a small room of the store building that serves as Boulder's City Hall. Seven councilmen—two were at "Show Boat"—and the city manager sat around a wooden table at their semi-monthly meeting. Some eighty citizens had crowded into the room, only half of whom could find seats. They had come to object to the grant of a twenty-year franchise to the Public Service Company of Colorado, a hundred-million-dollar company which supplies Boulder and other Colorado cities with electricity, gas, and bus service.

The question of the renewal of the P. S. C. franchise in Boulder had been introduced at a council meeting on December 7, presented in its final form on December 21, and approved two weeks later, with only one councilman objecting. On January 18 the proposed contract was published in the local daily and February 21 announced as the date on which the townspeople would vote their approval or disapproval. Thus the councilmen, who had heard only information presented by the company, gave Boulder's citizens, most of them poorly informed on the comparative advantages of public and private power, less than five weeks to study the problem.

The councilmen knew that power allotments from the Bureau of Reclamation's $144,000,000 Colorado-Big Thompson development would be available for Boulder in about four years. Why, then, this indecent rush to put the renewal of the P. S. C. franchise to a vote? Why were public hearings not held, as they were in Denver? Morris Garnsey, a liberal professor of economics who is also a writer on power resources, asked how an intelligent choice could be made without an evaluation of company investments and a study of the cost per kilowatt hour of Boulder electricity. Garnsey asked that the vote be postponed until more facts were available.

Other speakers proposed that trained engineers be hired, that the facts about power costs be obtained from the Bureau of Reclamation, and that a study be made of utility rates and income from taxes in the dozen-odd Colorado towns where power is municipally owned. When all but one councilman, Professor Gayle Waldrop, ignored requests for a postponement, or even for information, a dry voice inquired, "Who's sovereign here anyway—the citizens, the council, or the company?"

The comments of some of the city fathers were as partisan as P. S. C. advertisements. Said Councilman Cumberford: "I don't believe you people realize what the Public Service Company means to Boulder. It pays one-sixth of all taxes paid in Boulder County." Councilman Peyton, replying to citizens who proposed a municipal plant, said heatedly, "You're not going to have one." A man at the back of the hall shouted, "If we want municipal ownership, I think we'll get it."

Ever since the election of Professor Waldrop to the City Council three years ago, that body has divided eight to one on questions of utility rates. Waldrop is acting head of Colorado University's College of Journalism. He is completely independent and possesses a fluid mind, a long memory, and a well-organized filing cabinet. He has frequently bought advertising space to report the cost of company power and to suggest better bargaining methods. His fellow-councilmen find his tenacity objectionable. Why does he refuse to "go along?" Why does he ask his needling questions? Why does he have to stand up so often against the views of Frank Henderson? Genial, rosy Frank Henderson, district manager for the P. S. C., is a popular business man and an influential civic leader. Everyone admits that under his direction the company has given the community excellent service—but at a price.

Frustrated at City Hall, people of every political complexion quickly organized themselves into a group called the "Facts on Franchise" committee, which will uncover the facts and publish them. Fighting for a "No" vote on February 21 the committee will ask how Fort Morgan, a smaller town than Boulder but with a municipal electric system, is able to net $70,000 annually from its power sales, although the power rate in Fort Morgan is only three-fourths that of Boulder. Its purpose is to force the council to drive a better bargain with the company; it is not now fighting for municipal ownership but for regulation of the utility by the City Council. It will use facts secured from the Reclamation Bureau and from cities with municipal plants as a basis of bargaining.

Though the figures furnish a powerful argument, the "Facts on Franchise" group faces a stiff fight. Whenever a franchise of the P. S. C. is threatened, all echelons of the company throw themselves into political activity.

Federal funds have brought power to Boulder's door. If regional resources are used intelligently, this industrially backward area can reach a prosperity equal to that of the East and the far West. The political climate since November 2 is favorable. But the real fight over power today is not in Washington or even in the state capitals. It is in places like Boulder.

ANITA MARBURG is a writer with a special interest in civic and municipal problems.

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Del Vayo—General Clay's Awakening

SUDDENLY we find General Clay alarmed at his own work. Of all recent international developments I cannot think of one, except Stalin's statement, that is more cheering. Few Americans realize what importance is attributed to General Clay in Europe as a factor in the question—rapprochement or rupture? More than one expert on international politics with whom I discussed the effect of Mr. Truman's election said to me: "It all depends on whether Truman keeps Marshall or not. If Marshall continues as Secretary of State, he will keep Clay in Germany, in which case there will be no change in the policy of building up German nationalism, and any slackening of international tension will be temporary."

Marshall was replaced by Dean Acheson, but nevertheless Clay continues in his post. Nothing, therefore, would be changed if we did not have the General's latest monthly report to Washington. Apparently he is beginning to see that his beloved Germans are still far from converted to the ideas of Lincoln.

The whole report is fascinating. It confirms many statements which have been made in *The Nation,* though if these had been read by General Clay's entourage when they appeared they would have been dismissed as the vaporings of the left. Extreme nationalist groups, the General says, are lifting their heads again. "Although these groups are as yet small, democratic German leaders recall with uneasiness that until 1928 National Socialism was a negligible movement." That takes me back twenty years to the time when I was in Berlin arguing with the German Socialist leaders then in power about the threat presented by Hitler's mounting agitation. I urged them to prepare to meet it by mobilizing the workers so as to prevent a repetition of the March on Rome. With pedantic self-assurance they rejected every suggestion that the republic was in mortal danger.

The basic fact in the present German situation is the failure of the so-called democratic leaders, as now revealed by General Clay, to learn the terrific lesson of the last two decades. That there may be several thousand Nazis organized in an underground today is not too serious: with energy and vigilance they could be arrested and finally eliminated. The real danger lies in the fact that the democratic German parties and leaders, who should be the counterpoise to this Nazi revival, are thinking and acting exactly as they did in 1928.

Their attitude was made very clear in the sessions of the Parliamentary Council at Bonn. As is known, representatives of the various Western German parties have been meeting for five months with the object of drawing up the fundamental charter, or *Grundgesetz,* which is to become the constitution of the western German state. With the exception of the Communists, who were too few in number to be represented on the committee charged with formulating the new constitution, all parties have had an opportunity to press their ideas about the Germany of tomorrow.

The work of the Bonn parliamentarians is now practically over. Their star has been a minister of the French zone, Professor Carlo Schmid, whom I know very well. An attractive figure with literary tastes, half French, half German, he heads the Socialist contingent. Neither he nor his rival, the leader of the Christian Democratic Union, Dr. Adenauer, who presided over the Parliamentary Council, gave the impression during the debates at Bonn that they could build a democratic Germany which would not be blown sky high by any new Führer. But let us suppose other leaders arise, more aggressive fighters for democracy; under present conditions in Germany their best efforts would be threatened with failure. The mixture of free enterprise and a restricted and controlled nationalism invented by the American administrators cannot exist outside their heads. At a press conference in Berlin on January 26 General Clay is reported by Drew Middleton of the New York *Times* to have distinguished between "two kinds of nationalism" and to have referred to the second kind—"the regrowth of the natural love of the Germans for their country"—as "not at all an unhealthy movement." But what the Allies are facing is not a vague, sentimental patriotism but a fascist nationalism with its chief center in the Ruhr and the great German industries.

Those who have been cleared by the German courts in accordance with the wishes of the Allies are not simple poets singing of the romantic Germany of Schiller; they are men like von Papen and Schacht, who deserve to be hanged more than some of those executed at Nürnberg. Notorious Nazis have been admitted to key posts in the administration; irresponsible secret fraternizing goes on with "good" Germans whitewashed by denazification courts. I am not so fond of music that I cannot live without hearing a Gieseking; and I found the protests over his arrival in this country very healthy even if it is proved that he was only a half-Nazi. But if a Gieseking is to be locked out of Carnegie Hall, men a hundred times more dangerous than he should be locked out of the Administrative Council of the Ruhr.

If the German problem is not to remain a nightmare, the first requirement, as I have said so many times, is an accord between the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and France. The second is a return to what should have been the point of departure—the urgent necessity of erecting the German democracy on a genuinely Socialist base. This does not mean simply naming a Herr Schumacher Chancellor of the Reich; it means allowing the workers to participate in the economic and political agencies and giving the republic a working-class base against which any attempted Nazi insurrection would be shattered. If this is not done, the report that General Clay sends to Washington next month will be even more alarming.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Chaim Weizmann

TRIAL AND ERROR. The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann. Harper and Brothers. $5.

ZIONISM historically has drawn much of its leadership from the ranks of the assimilated. Moses himself was reared as a ward of Pharaoh's daughter; the leaders of *aliyahs,* or returns, as far back as Exodus have often been Jews from a non-Jewish environment drawn back to their people by pride and sympathy. This was true of the Russian Jewish physician, Pinsker, whose brilliant essay "Self-Emancipation" inspired the first modern wave of Jewish colonization in Palestine, and it was true of Herzl. But Chaim Weizmann, Herzl's successor, was thoroughly Jewish in his background, a Jew from White Russia, where Jews were Jews and not imitation *goyim,* a product of those forever vanished little villages of Eastern Europe whose religious longing for Zion played so fructifying if subterranean a part in the rebirth of Israel.

The most vivid pages in Weizmann's autobiography, "Trial and Error," are those in which he describes with filial piety the village of Motelle in Minsk province, where he was born in 1874. His education began in a typical *cheder,* a one-room school which was also the sole quarters of the teacher's family, and was shared by the family goat as well in cold weather. There he was taught Talmud by a rabbi who was "both ferocious and exacting" and never could understand why any Jewish boy should not be able to "pick up such things, which were as easy as they were sacred, by natural instinct." Long before there was such a word as Zionism, the idea that Jews would return to Zion was in the air of Motelle: had it not been written? But Weizmann's generation was no longer content to wait on prophecy. The future first President of Israel recalls a rabbi who thought it "impious and presumptuous" for a youngster to speak of rebuilding Palestine, and said to him indignantly, "You keep quiet. You'll never bring the Messiah any nearer."

The brash youngster so rebuked in Motelle was himself to prove a kind of modern Messiah, second only to Herzl in the annals of Zionism, though Messiahdom proved painfully unglamorous, requiring the patience of a saint and the pertinacity of a *schnorrer.* Weizmann provides an unforgettable glimpse of his debut as a youth in "the movement," collecting kopecks for Zionist causes during the spring thaw at Purim time in Pinsk, tramping through the mud in an overcoat which his mother had made too long for him "to allow for growth," repeatedly stumbling and sometimes falling headlong "into the icy slush of the streets," but with "the immense satisfaction of bringing in more money than anyone else." The first necessity for Zionist Messiahdom was a capacity for wheedling money out of poor and rich alike—the former were generally more responsive. The beggar was as important as if less picturesque than the *chalutz;* year in and year out, in Europe and America, Weizmann's life consisted of going the rounds with the collection plate; charming, coaxing, evangelizing, begging. The Negev offered less bleak a trial to faith and fortitude.

The other requirement was patience, but patience in endless quantity, above all patience with the Jews themselves. The revolutionaries had a Messiah of their own in Marx; we get a picture of an early and angry clash between Weizmann and Plekhanov. The rich and high-placed did not wish to be reminded of the Jewish problem; Weizmann provides a sharply etched portrait of Germany's smug, obsequious, and super-patriotic *Kaiserjuden.* When negotiations began for the Balfour Declaration, the main obstacle lay in the objections of such British Jews as the lordly Montagus. They were chiefly responsible for the trouble-breeding ambiguities of the final draft. The revolutionaries and the rich alike staked their hopes on assimilation. On the other side were the hotheads who once called Herzl "traitor" over Uganda and were later to call Weizmann "Quisling." The period of the British mandate was for him life "between the hammer and the anvil—between the slow-moving, unimaginative, conservative, and often unfriendly British administration, military and civil, and the impatient, dynamic Jewish people, which saw in the Balfour Declaration the great promise of the return to them of their own country and contrasted it resentfully with the administrative realities in Palestine."

Weizmann's loyalty as a British subject and gratitude as a Zionist leader were severely tried from the first. The 1920 riots in Palestine were a shock from which neither he nor the Zionist movement ever fully recovered. "Pogroms in Russia," Weizmann writes, "had excited horror and pity but little surprise. . . . That such a thing could happen in Palestine, two years after the Balfour Declaration, under British rule, was incomprehensible to the Jews and dreadful beyond belief." He tried "to find an answer to the question which was to occupy [him] for the rest of [his] life: Why, from the very word go, should we have had to face the hostility, or at best the frosty neutrality of Britain's representatives on the spot?" Nor was it always the stodgy and bureaucratic who showed little understanding. Weizmann appealed to Lord Passfield, the former Sidney Webb, then Colonial Secretary of a Labor government, at the time of the Jerusalem riots of 1929. "I can't understand," Lady Passfield [Beatrice Webb] said, "why the Jews make such a fuss over a few dozen of their people killed in Palestine. As many are killed every week in London in traffic accidents, and no one pays any attention." Bevinism was not without antecedent in Labor Party annals.

Weizmann opposed the "political" Zionism of Herzl, but fate played him a wry trick. Not only is Weizmann's name forever associated with just such a charter as Herzl sought, but Weizmann was impelled by the political necessities of world Zionist leadership to devote much of his energy to politics, especially to the task of combating the successive White Papers with which the British government repeatedly sought to

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curtail the promise of the mandate. Weizmann was doomed to wander forty years in the desert of international negotiation; he was more fortunate at the end than the predecessor who only saw the Promised Land from afar, but his life none the less deals remarkably little with developments inside Palestine. To Eretz he returned again and again, to refresh himself for his tasks outside; he saw the slow growth of Jewish settlement and "the thought of those spreading clusters of light in the dusk" helped him to bear "many weary months of travel and disappointment in the world outside." By contrast, the life of Ben-Gurion, who ranks second only to Weizmann in Israel, will be quite a different story when written; "B. G.'s" story is the story of Histadruth and Haganah in Palestine itself. Weizmann's is the story of Zionism in the world outside.

Zionism's least attractive aspect is its politics; Israel's politics, too, seem Liliputian by contrast with its heroic people. In this contentious world of fanatics and prima donnas, Weizmann has been a monumental as well as a beloved figure. His autobiography has the gaps and glosses to be expected from one who is still called upon to play a great political role; a political leader cannot afford to be a Rousseau. But it has much that is rewarding—revealing glimpses of the great and departed of "the movement" and the world in which they had to operate; some sound advice, notably on the dangers of clericalism and "premature private enterprise" in Israel. It has the wit and brevity, the quiet evocative phrase, that has so often revealed the poet in this chemist. And between the lines, understated, as fitting in a Jew from Motelle who became half an Englishman, are the boundless love and unending devotion Weizmann gave his people. I. F. STONE

Two Anarchists in Boston

THE LEGACY OF SACCO AND VANZETTI. By G. Louis Joughin and Edmund M. Morgan. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $6.

THIS book is what Arthur M. Schlesinger in his introduction calls "a venture in cooperative scholarship," and it is about "the impact of the Sacco-Vanzetti case upon American law, society, and literature," as the authors describe it. How mighty was the impact of the execution of the two Italian anarchists in Boston after midnight of August 22, 1927, is evidenced by the fact that even this book of 598 pages can no more than suggest the emotion that shook all sorts and conditions of people when word came from the death house on that dreadful summer night that the "good shoemaker" and the "poor fish peddler" had been judicially murdered. The once fair reputation of the Massachusetts courts for equal justice has not yet recovered from the self-inflicted body blow. For a great cross-section of Americans the name of Harvard is still associated with the implacable A. Lawrence Lowell and Heywood Broun's "Hangman's House" epithet, unfair as it may be. Though a generation has passed since the killings, there are those in important places in the labor movement, by no means rated as radicals, who have not recovered from the loss of faith in capitalist justice which they experienced when one of the most famous criminal cases in our history came to its gruesome end.

On first looking into this stout volume one might ask, why dig all that up again? The answer is, of course, that the story of the seven years' agony of these two workingmen is a significant chapter in our recent history. Again, in such times of trouble as we are going through, the retelling of it may serve to keep us alert against the repetition of any such miscarriage of justice as took place in Massachusetts twenty-two years ago. Sacco and Vanzetti, as the authors of this book are at pains to point out, were the victims of the dominant opinion not only of Massachusetts but of the nation as a whole in the grip of the "reign of terror" instituted by the propertied classes and guided by A. Mitchell Palmer, Woodrow Wilson's Attorney General, and his army of secret police. It was the death leap of a friend of the two anarchists, Andrea Salsedo, from the fourteenth floor of a New York skyscraper where he was being cross-questioned about his radicalism by government men in 1920 which led to the arrest of the two defendants on May 5, 1920. They were charged with the murder of a South Braintree, Massachusetts, paymaster on April 15 of that year. Guns were found on both. The explanation was that the Italians feared they would share Salsedo's fate, and that "the consciousness of guilt" which they showed, according to the prosecution, came from the general fear among all alien radicals of being subjected to third-degree torture. Today, though labor is far more powerful than it was in the twenties, the climate for radical opinion is no more favorable, and the armies of snoopers are even larger. It would not be difficult to recreate "the atmosphere of popular tension, dread, and crisis," as Professor Schlesinger calls it in his introduction, in which Sacco and Vanzetti were tried.

The collaboration between Professor Morgan of the Harvard University Law School and Professor Joughin of the New School for Social Research, "a student of literature and its social implications," results in a wide-ranging, highly readable book which first discusses the legal twistings of the case and then selects the most significant items from the spate of writing that flowed from the trials.

To me the most moving chapter is called The Mind and Thought of Vanzetti. In this the fish peddler, whose formal education ended at the age of thirteen and who had read little in the English language until he was put behind bars, gives his tender, loving philosophy, his vision of "justice based on the principle of man's self-respect and dignity; of the equality of men in their fundamental nature and in their rights and duties." What did this gentle soul, pictured as a murderous gangster, want of life? Vanzetti, from his cell, answered, "A little roof, a field, a few books and food."

The letters, the poetry, the novels, and the plays written on the case are evaluated in the second part of this book. There is much fine writing here from the pens of distinguished men and women. But for sheer poignancy give me the majestic farewell of Vanzetti:

> If it had not been for these things, I might have live out my life, talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have die, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life can we hope to do such work for tolerance, for joostice, for man's onderstanding of man, as now we do by an accident. Our words—our lives—our

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pains—nothing. The taking of our lives —lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler—all. That last moment belong to us—that agony is our triumph.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

The Case of Mikolajczyk

THE RAPE OF POLAND. By Stanislaw Mikolajczyk. Whittlesey House. $4.

ALTHOUGH advertised as an exposé of the pattern of Soviet aggression, Mikolajczyk's book is mainly an account of his still-born coalition with the Polish Communists in the Government of National Unity, in which he had agreed to serve as "the man who filled the window." From rather limited pre-war political stature Mikolajczyk rose to the premiership of the Polish government in exile. He bartered that job for the second vice-premiership of the regime created after Yalta by a clearly hopeless compromise between the inevitable and the impossible: Soviet domination and Western influence in a country tucked in between a victorious Russia and a Soviet occupation zone in Germany. Branded as traitor by the Poles in exile, he managed to earn the same epithet from the "other Poles" when he fled from his native country after failing to impress the Communists with what he believed to be his trump card—sponsorship by the West.

In book form Mikolajczyk's account is an improvement over the serialized "as told to" version which was hastily slapped together and embellished with sentimental slush—including the perennial little girl whose hair turned gray overnight. The spirit of the book is the same, the ghost apparently not. But even in this improved version the book, when considered not as fuel in the cold war but as a reliable historical document, adds little of substance to the known accounts of the Polish case. The first ten chapters are strikingly reminiscent of the work by former Ambassador Jan Ciechanowski, "Defeat in Victory," minus its discretion and relative restraint. Much of what constitutes the main body of Mikolajczyk's book was told by our own ex-ambassador, Arthur Bliss Lane, in his singularly undiplomatic "I Saw Poland Betrayed." In this case the similarity is not surprising, since both authors mention the numerous memoranda submitted by Mikolajczyk to the American ambassador during the period of his fight against Communist attempts to squeeze him out of the government.

Political developments in post-war Poland conform to a pattern repeated elsewhere in Eastern Europe and determined in part by the deterioration of Allied unity but also by the inability of the Communists to work in a coalition except on their own terms. Hence the Mikolajczyk episode could only end as it did, or worse—in terms of his physical well-being. However, it is not irrelevant to examine Mikolajczyk's original motives in going to Poland in 1945. In his book he is inclined to idealize or retouch his own position. He wants us to believe that he had "some misgivings" about Yalta and that he was "certain that Russia [intended] to rule Poland by brute force." The record shows that Mikolajczyk at the time created a publication, *Jutro Polski,* for the purpose of "selling" Yalta to the London Poles. In the most revealing passage of the book Mikolajczyk admits that his decision to participate in the Moscow negotiations which clinched the deal on the government of Poland was prompted by a meeting with Churchill, who assured him of "the support and influence of both the British and Americans" and stated that "the West was now in a better position to deal with him [Stalin]" because "we don't need him now" in the war against Japan. If the quotation from Churchill is accurate, it certainly reveals a remarkably foolish evaluation of Western influence in Eastern Europe, but it apparently bolstered sufficiently Mikolajczyk's conviction that he was going to Poland equipped with a mighty weapon. Here, and not in such vague generalities as "the will to share the fate of my people" must be sought the key to Mikolajczyk's decision, perfectly understandable at the time on the part of an ambitious politician endowed with the short-range shrewdness of the peasant.

What resulted from the Moscow conference was a deal between Polish factions distributing Cabinet posts and important administrative jobs in the accepted tradition of parliamentary horse-trading. One cannot escape the feeling that what proved most disappointing to Mikolajczyk in post-war Poland was that "the Peasant Party did not get . . . its one-third share." This, rather than the matters of democratic principle which seem to bother him now, determined his attitude toward the government and made him, a deputy premier of that government, pray "for the day when I might see it dissolve."

While the account of Communist pressure on the eve of the elections makes grim though hardly surprising reading, it is again important to point out that Mikolajczyk's refusal to participate in the single-ticket Democratic Bloc was not due to basic misgivings about uncompetitive elections, but came after protracted negotiations concerning the division of seats, during which he demanded somewhat immodestly 70 per cent and was offered only 40 per cent. Not until October 7, 1946, did the negotiations break down (the elections took place in January of the following year).

The period which followed the elections was one of gradual liquidation of Mikolajczyk's party by the now consolidated regime. One can hardly expect from a frustrated politician a reliable account of the acts of his victorious adversaries. The last part of the book is replete with grave though undocumented accusations against certain personalities—for example, concerning Premier Cyrankiewicz and his alleged activities as inmate of a Nazi concentration camp. The nature of some allegations is reminiscent of what used to be referred to during the war as "Polish intelligence," a mixture of good information and cavalry-style charges into the world of speculation and rumors. The choice of horror stories which are supposed to shock the American reader is somewhat crudely geared to what the author believes to be our religious attachment to private enterprise. The result is sometimes amusing rather than shocking. We are told of a Polish law which "confiscates all incomes above a certain norm," another law which introduces progressive taxation in proportion to the size of land holdings, and of still another that limits the right of landlords to charge as much rent as they wish and to evict tenants. Has not the author heard of excess-profit taxes, progressive taxation, and rent controls in this country? It is also somewhat difficult to become excited these days about

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the fact that Polish teachers have to pass loyalty tests before being appointed to government jobs.

The weakest part of the book is that which purports to give the real low-down on how the Russians pull the strings in Poland. There is no doubt a story there, but Mikolajczyk does not seem to know it. Rumors are again dished out as facts. For instance, Jakob Berman, usually pictured as Number One man in Poland, is described as having been sentenced in 1937 to three years in prison for conspiracy against the Polish state; allegedly he "returned" to Russia after serving his term. Actually Jakob Berman was never imprisoned or sentenced in pre-war Poland, much as this may in retrospect embarrass former police officials. He went to Russia only during the war. This does not alter the basic fact that Berman was and is a devoted Stalinist, but it tends to undermine confidence in Mikolajczyk's details.

The concluding remarks about Soviet aims may or may not be correct, but they certainly do not come from an expert. By reason of his background—he hails from the ex-German part of Poland—Mikolajczyk was hardly equipped to deal with Stalin and his lieutenants. His short and disappointing experience does not automatically make him an expert qualified to give this country competent advice. He is at best a witness, one more witness to the already established fact that it is difficult to do business with Stalin.

SAMUEL L. SHARP

Verse Chronicle

FROM foreign shores. The "New British Poets" (New Directions, $3), if my count is correct, number seventy, most of them, except for the Scots, in the interests of whose renascence the editor, Mr. Rexroth, permits exceptions, born in 1908 or later. It is interesting to note that seven, one out of ten, were conscientious objectors during World War II, a much higher percentage than we might have supposed, or than we had this side the water. Did we have any except Mr. Lowell, and Mr. Rexroth?

Sparing no directness to let the reader know exactly where he stands, Mr. Rexroth introduces these poets in a nervous, driving prose which permits the student little ease to mull and reflect. Quick, quick; here comes the next point, or barb, as the case may be. In addition to his opinions Mr. Rexroth conveys a good deal of pertinent information, if you can reconcile yourself to his abruptness.

Of the poets he includes, Dylan Thomas stands out in the field like a giant; the only man of comparable stature is that old Scotch hurricane, Hugh MacDiarmuid; and Alex Comfort wears his rue with a difference. The rest are all very good, but no voice is particularly conspicuous for its idiosyncratic tone or its special adaptations of technique. The dominant impression, if you read straight through the book at one sitting—which is probably no way to consider anthologies—is of a high level of literate competence and of an informed, cool, pastoral sameness.

John Heath-Stubbs, whom Mr. Rexroth includes in his collection but does not mention in his introduction, is the author of a collection of verse recently published in this country, "The Charity of the Stars" (Sloane, $2.50). This work seems to me quite uninteresting, its principal strength being the smell of the lamp. Not inept, not quite scholastic; not sentimental exactly, but just, oh, rather genteel and literary, the subjects out of reading, and nothing very intensely felt.

Item:

> You are the singing voice beneath the stream
> Whose source is hidden in his ardent blood,
> The quick bird troublous through a childhood's dream,
> The beckoning stars beyond the moonlit wood;

Not everybody can do this, of course; but too many can.

Mrs. Elizabeth Daryush, daughter of the late Robert Bridges, has had nine volumes published in Britain, but her "Selected Poems" (Swallow Press and Morrow, $2.50) is her first American publication. In his foreword Yvor Winters seems to me to be making more of a to-do than the occasion warrants over her use of syllabic verse; without reading his remarks you would only think, and be satisfied, that Mrs. Daryush had the sense to break and vary her rhythms to good effect. Mrs. Daryush is a controlled and modest poet: two stanzas from a four-stanza poem entitled September—

> Now the sun's more tender gaze
> Lingers on the land he leaves,
> Gilds with ghostly harvest-haze
> Stubble wan and drooping sheaves;
>
> Now in every hedgerow twine,
> Fiery as a farewell bliss,
> Flame-leafed briony, the vine,
> Puffed with smoke, of clematis

That's fine careful work, I think, and as admirable as any of the ten pieces which Mr. Winters says put her right up there with Campion and Herrick. This I doubt; and by the way, how is it that Mr. Winters, who is so often right, always manages to sound so petulant and unhappy about it? And one other very minor point: it seems a pity that Mrs. Daryush's work is issued in a format that has so much of a Vanity Press look about it—the typography, the quality of the paper. On the other hand, a little paper-bound volume, "Poems and Ballads of the Jersey Shore," by Everard Stokes, with not much else to recommend it, has a very nice appearance indeed (F. G. Adams, $1.25).

In magazine rather than book form the Yale French Studies, in the fall-winter, 1948, issue, offer 140 pages, priced at $1, dealing with modern poets, surrealists, Perse, Baudelaire, LaForgue, and others. The others include Breton, Cassou, Supervielle, Calas: some of the poetry appears in the original French, some in translations, the latter sometimes done by contemporary American poets. Contributors of critical articles are Renato Poggioli, Henri Peyre, Anna Balakian, "and others." This is an interesting edition: the French writers discussed cover of course a longer period of time than do the contributors to the anthology edited by Mr. Rexroth, and they are, naturally, on the average, more mature. But the difference goes farther and deeper; in the French there seem to be much more adventurous imagination, deeper thinking, more serious concern, bolder invention and enterprise.

Caresse Crosby's Black Sun Press sends along something called "Y & X," —drawings by Corrado Cagli, poems by Charles Olson; five drawings, five poems. I am not sure what is the rela-

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tion of these, and I am incompetent to judge the drawings: the poems are well organized, firm, and brief. Where the Black Sun Press is now located, and what the cost of this item is, the reviewer's copy does not state.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Fiction in Review

NOT having read James A. Michener's "Tales of the South Pacific," which won last year's Pulitzer fiction award, I cannot say how Mr. Michener's "The Fires of Spring" (Random House, $3.50) measures up to it. It is a strange book, the new one—part picaresque novel, part a fairly conventional account of the coming of age of a talented boy with literary ambitions, part a series of Saroyanesque adventures in the half-world of dwarfs, morons, lunatics, amiable eccentrics, and racketeers. Mr. Michener's David Harper is bred in a Pennsylvania poorhouse, gets his first job in a vast amusement park, becomes an actor on a Chautauqua circuit and later an editor of crime-and-sex magazines; in between times he has the familiar experiences of school and college; and he winds up marrying his childhood sweetheart and settling down to his long-delayed literary career. It is a soft, rather sprawling story, but saved from the sentimental excess with which it constantly flirts by a certain discipline of prose and by Mr. Michener's overarching belief that, while there may be an attractive abundance of life and love among the deformed and dispossessed, the proper goal of a young hero is a place within, rather than outside, the normal social framework.

Anne Goodwin Winslow's "The Springs" (Knopf, $2.50), which is about a delicately reared young Southern girl whose innocence is shaken when a watering place is built near her home, will immediately suggest the influence of Henry James: its young heroine has the fragile durability of a James girl, and the construction of the summer hotel has the same import as the European experience in a James novel. But I suspect that Mrs. Winslow is less a conscious disciple of the master than a parallel cultural manifestation. She too was born and educated in another American century. But Mrs. Winslow has come to writing only recently, and she has not yet learned, like James or even Edith Wharton, those other embattled aristocrats, the artist's true aristocracy—his right to be fiercely and fearlessly heterodox. "The Springs" is all good manners and gentle reminiscence; it never dares the possible emotions in its potential content. Despite her sure craftsmanship Mrs. Winslow is still the cultivated amateur who has not recognized how much she must venture.

Rudolph Kieve's "The Sorcerers" (Houghton Mifflin, $4) is also the work of an amateur but in a different sense: its author, who came to this country from Germany in 1936—and, incidentally, writes a remarkably un-German English—is a practicing psychiatrist in New Mexico. In view of this professional background, "The Sorcerers" is notable for its freedom from any clinical approach to people and situations; our psychological novelists might well take a lesson from Dr. Kieve's ability to see human beings as the sum of their parts, healthy and sick, rather than as case-histories. Unfortunately none of the characters in Dr. Kieve's book—it is about the way in which the German middle classes came to the catastrophe of Hitlerism—has very great novelistic stature; but this is one of those subtle failures of art rather than a failure, as in most contemporary fiction, of the author's respect for himself and his fellow-creatures. "The Sorcerers" is serious, workmanlike, readable, eminently decent. It is the kind of novel which, without itself breaking new territory, holds and honors the traditional grounds of fiction.

Robin Maugham, author of "The Servant" (Harcourt, Brace, $1.50), is the nephew of Somerset Maugham and would seem to be the inheritor of his swift, sharp skill in story-telling. No one but an Englishman could have written this novelette about a weak-willed young gentleman, recently returned from the wars, whose character is usurped and ruined by the paragon male servant who comes to work for him, because only the English, of all the peoples in the world, have the notion of being "done for"—the concept of a life of ease and well-being provided by the services of an inferior class. One had the idea that a Labor Britain and the incursions upon Empire might have eliminated this particular brand of master-man relationship from life and literature; but evidently not yet. (Certainly it is to over-read "The Servant" to take it as a parable of the coming to power of the evil latent in the lower classes.) And while it lasts, one must admit it makes excellent narrative, especially in the hands of a writer with Mr. Maugham's technical gift. "The Servant" carries no overtones, though its theme might have been used in a way to suggest many. But it maintains the tension of the best thrillers.

DIANA TRILLING

Drama Note

"FORWARD THE HEART" (Forty-eighth Street Theater) is a play about a blind veteran whose advanced ideas are put to a test when he learns that the housemaid with whom he has fallen in love is a Negro. Obviously this situation is dangerously neat and makes its point almost too simply and too well. Most of the time the author manages to keep the action credible, and despite the fact that all the characters are painfully high-minded, there are a few moments which are genuinely moving. But like most plays which are based on what looks like at first sight "a good idea" there is too little besides the idea to fill an evening. Pretty nearly everything that can be said about the idea is clearly implied as soon as it is stated, and the result is one more proof that an anecdote will not make a play. What can be expressed in a few words is never worth saying for two hours. And if that fact were stated on page one of all textbooks it would save young hopefuls a good many mistakes. The old superstition which warns a writer against talking too much about a play before it is written is not really a superstition at all but simply a recognition of the fact that a good play cannot be told effectively in less time than it will take to act it. In the present instance a cast of only four persons does not help to conceal the thinness of the structure, but Mildred Joanne Smith as the young woman gives a restrained and intelligent performance.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Films

ANTHONY BOWER

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE is really the miracle man of literary and dramatic output. Balzac may have worked longer hours and Zola have written more words in a given period, but no one in the whoe history of letters has covered so wide a field in faster time. Eight hundred pages of murky philosophy—a real tour de force in that the usual Gallic characteristics in this field are brevity, precision, and clarity—a novel in three full-length parts introducing what the author claims is a new technique for dealing with time, a whole clutch of dramas of varying merit, political pamphlets, newspaper articles, speeches, short stories, and now a scenario—all within the space of the last few years.

Since "The Chips Are Down" ("Les Jeux Sont Faits") was written directly for the screen, Sartre's initial venture in the field, it was hardly presumptuous to expect it to reveal a rather bold use of the medium and a certain originality of plot. On second thought, though, perhaps it *was* presumptuous, for what has really distinguished Sartre as a playwright has been his presentation of a plethora of ideas—some of them admittedly provocative—in a dramatic framework of twists, surprises, and fortuitous happenings that makes the plot structure of "East Lynne" seem positively classic in its simplicity.

Here we have Sartre dealing with bourgeois morality, political creeds, existentialism, and time as a fourth dimension. His hero and heroine, Marcel Pagliero and Micheline Presle, die simultaneously in different parts of Paris, she by the hand of her very rich and unpleasant husband and he through the betrayal of a political plot in which he is involved. Their paths have never crossed in this world but become violently intertwined on the way to the next—which is not entirely dissimilar in its pixyish humor to the one in "Green Pastures." Entrance to this land of dubious delights is controlled by various quaint types, and it is populated with figures from many epochs in the history of mankind who look as though they had just strolled in from an impromptu costume ball. The principals meander between this world and our own to no philosophical—and very little amatory—effect, and the film comes to an end leaving us with the very definite conviction that M. Sartre should concentrate less on quantity and more on quality.

Micheline Presle, whose name is being changed to Prelle for the benefit of the American public, is one of the most enchanting actresses on the French screen, and Marcel Pagliero is a pleasant enough Gallic version of Spencer Tracy, but they do not succeed in disguising the rather tawdry and hastily contrived atmosphere of the film. Miss Prelle is soon to be seen to much greater advantage in the excellent movie version of Radiguet's novel "Le Diable au Corps."

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

BACH'S Brandenburg Concerto No. 3, one of the finest in the series, has been recorded for English Decca by the Boyd Neel String Orchestra (K-1619, $2.10). Though without the wonderful sensitiveness of the old Busch Chamber Players' performance, this one by a larger group of strings is good of its kind, and is well reproduced except for the weakness and edged quality of the violins. The same edged violin sound is heard in the recording of No. 1, a less interesting work, which the entire Boyd Neel Orchestra plays well (ED-87, $7.35).

The beautiful aria "Erbarme dich" from Bach's St. Matthew Passion is sung (in English) by Katherine Ferrier, contralto, who sang it also in the Decca set issued a year ago. On the new record (K-1465) her singing is again superb; but there is a heavy instrumental accompaniment by the National Symphony under Sargent this time, instead of the earlier sensitive playing by the Reginald Jacques Orchestra; and Ferrier's rich voice is reproduced more coarsely.

I find very little of Fauré's suave and pretty music interesting; and that little doesn't include the Piano Quartet Opus 45, which seems to be well performed by the London Belgian Piano Quartet, and is well reproduced except for the occasional brashness of the strings and weakness of the piano in loud passages (ED-74, $9.45) (the first side of my copy scrapes badly). Nor does it include the songs of "L'Horizon chimérique," which are excellently sung by Gerard Souzay, baritone, with good piano accompaniments by Jean Damase (K-1693).

The quiet portions of Franck's Three Chorales for organ contain some exquisite writing; but even this is repetitious and long-winded; in addition there are the bombastic proclamations and affirmations that are hard to take; and the episodic structure is made more difficult to bind together by the record-breaks. Dupré's performances seem good; and the recorded sound of the organ of St. Mark's Church in North Audley Street, London, is remarkably life-like but poorly balanced—the high registers appearing to come from a vast distance (ED-80, $13.65).

Beethoven's Piano Trio Opus 70 No. 1, one of his duller works, has been recorded for Columbia by the Busch-Serkin Trio (MM-804, $4.75). The trio plays well as a group; but this doesn't outweigh Adolf Busch's tone, Serkin's excessive intensity, and the shallow, brash recorded sound—to say nothing of noisy surfaces.

Haydn's Violin Concerto No. 1, an early and uninteresting work, is excellently performed by Isaac Stern with a string orchestra, and well reproduced except for a boomy bass (MM-799, $4.75).

Two excerpts from Copland's music for "Billy the Kid"—the lovely Prairie Night, and the Celebration Dance, which I don't care for—are well performed by Stokowski and the New York Philharmonic (19011-D). And Milhaud's amusing, through repetitious, "Le Boeuf sur le toit" is well done by Mitropoulos and the Minneapolis Symphony (MX-308, $3.50).

The Haydn Society of the United States, 179 Cambridge Street, Boston, announces a first recording of Haydn's

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Missa Solemnis, to be sold only by advance subscription—$15.75 for the set of seven vinylite records. And I have received a copy of the 25th anniversary souvenir volume of three vinylite records with the performances that Koussevitzky recorded on the double bass twenty years ago, which can be had for $10 from the Boston Symphony Orchestra in Symphony Hall, Boston—the proceeds going to the Serge Koussevitzky Anniversary Fund for the orchestra. Listening to Koussevitzky's compositions and his portamentos is an interesting and instructive experience—which leaves one marveling at the fact that it was the composer of Chanson triste and Valse miniature who, as a conductor, made himself the advocate of Stravinsky, Copland, Harris, Diamond, and the rest.

Postscript on the pianist Michelangeli: I got to his Carnegie Hall recital in time for the Chopin group—the Berceuse and B flat minor Scherzo, which he played with the same extravagances of pace, dynamics, accent, and phrasing as in the broadcast performance of the Schumann concerto. And these extravagances I could not relate to any ideas of the pieces that would make musical sense of them, or to any purpose beyond that of manipulation of the instrument for any effect of the moment.

All this was in striking contrast to what I had come from: the fine musicality which governed Helen Qwalwasser's manipulation of the violin in lovely performances of a Vivaldi concerto, a Beethoven Romance, and Franck's Sonata, with excellent cooperation at the piano by Eugene Helmer.

CONTRIBUTORS

I. F. STONE is the author of "Underground to Palestine" and "This Is Israel."

MACALISTER COLEMAN is a Socialist journalist. He is working on a book entitled "A History of the Plain People."

SAMUEL L. SHARP is a newspaperman who covered the proceedings of the Polish parliament from 1935 to 1939. He revisited Poland in 1946 and 1948 and will soon publish a book "The United States and Poland."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

[*Few articles in* The Nation *in recent years have aroused as great a storm of letters to the editors as Helen Merrell Lynd's review of Dr. Harry Stack Sullivan's "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry." The review, Must Psychiatry Aid Reaction? appeared in our issue of January 15, which happened to be the date of Dr. Sullivan's death in Paris. The letters printed below are in almost all cases extracts from longer comments; the selection is as representative as possible. Mrs. Lynd will reply in an early issue to the critics among these correspondents.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

First-rate

Dear Sirs: I thought Mrs. Lynd's review of Sullivan's book was first-rate.

HARVEY BREIT

New York, January 19

Not a General Rule

Dear Sirs: The essential point of Mrs. Lynd's review is well taken. Too long have psychiatrists promulgated an eleventh commandment: "Go ye therefore and become well adjusted." Such a maxim is particularly undesirable when we realize that by "adjustment" they mean adaptation of the individual to his environment—whatever it may be.

My quarrel with Mrs. Lynd comes from her calm assumption that contemporary social scientists either accept this assertion that the fault is in ourselves or rely exclusively on "common sense." Such a choice may be necessary for those disciplines which lean heavily on psychoanalysis, but not for social science generally.

E. TERRY PROTHRO

Baton Rouge, La., January 16

A Statement of Faith in the Liberal Tradition

Dear Sirs: Mrs. Lynd's long review of Dr. Sullivan's book is a welcome addition to the growing commentary on this brilliant American psychiatrist's work. But in maintaining that Dr. Sullivan is allied with those psychologists who are engaged in justifying contemporary American society and are opposed to fundamental changes in its pattern, Mrs. Lynd is a good deal less than fair. Dr. Sullivan claims merely that an individual must develop a realistic and healthy relationship to the society in which he lives before his criticisms and programs have meaning. What he is urging is not a dog-like submission to the contemporary institutional pattern but merely an attitude toward it in which constructive criticism and effective action are possible, in contrast to the paralyzing state of destructive hate evinced by the psychopath. The footnote on page 97 of "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry" makes his position clear:

> Of more current interest to the American psychiatrist is the place of the *liberal*, the person who is not blind to the unsatisfactory state of things as they are, but who is yet not sufficiently disturbed in his interpersonal relations to yearn for a radical utopian solution either on the far side of chaos *or* to be achieved by reversing the current of social evolution and regressing to the "good old days"—the equally morbid wish of the reactionary "conservative." The rational liberal position exposes one to the extreme vicissitudes of security from attacks by both the reactionaries and the radicals in our technically democratic society, some outstanding characteristics of which pertain less to the achievement of human dignity, opportunity, and fraternity than to the safeguarding of special privilege at whatever cost to others.

I have no hesitancy in expressing these views, for I am clearly of the privileged class, as are all my intimate friends. I feel radical as to certain of the underprivileged, who would seem to have potentialities far greater than their socially defined role permits them to manifest. I feel most reserved as to reactionary and radical groups—in part because I know intimately some of their leaders. I do not believe that the destruction of values is necessary or even probably preliminary to their renaissance, and I know regression professionally. I feel particularly hostile to those among us who are incapable of appreciating our traditional, almost accidental, way of progress, who prefer instead to place confidence in the omniscience of a dictator. I do not believe that anyone nurtured in the American culture-complex *can* have such sublime trust in another; I regard totalitarianism as the political quintessence of personal despair.

This, as far as I am concerned, is one of the finest statements of faith in the liberal position, the liberal tradition, and the liberal ideal that I have read in a good long time.

CLIFF GEERTZ, JR.

Yellow Spring, Ohio, January 13

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Has Dr. Sullivan Been Misrepresented?

Dear Sirs: Mrs. Lynd has succeeded with remarkable dexterity in pointing out the usefulness of Dr. Sullivan's book for all social scientists. She has, however, also asked a question, "Must psychology aid reaction?" and has concluded that it must not but that Dr. Sullivan has chosen to say it must. This conclusion seems to me so contrary to Dr. Sullivan's intention that I feel it important to present in full some statements made by him which Mrs. Lynd quotes only in part.

It is true that Dr. Sullivan states that "an individual can only be understood in terms of the whole system of social relations which produced him," but he does not state that the social system is the only important determining factor. Mrs. Lynd left out the word "mediate" from the quotation which recommends to psychiatrists the value of "contemplating the social order, not merely as it sets the limits within which the patient's interpersonal relations may succeed, but rather as the *mediate* source from which spring his problems, which are themselves signs of difficulties in the social order." Dr. Sullivan was pointing out that psychiatrists "cannot but realize that the social order itself is an important factor with which one must reckon in formulating therapeutic aims and the procedures for their realization," not "pointing out the destructive effect of the present social order on human beings."

Mrs. Lynd has placed words before some of Dr. Sullivan's statements that limit his meaning or point to a meaning she intends rather than Dr. Sullivan. It is true that most of his clinical material dealt with people in our "contemporary system of social relations," and he points out difficulties in this social order. However, his theory of the relation of the development of a self system in all human beings to the nature of the social order of which they are a part is not limited to a particular social order. "Anxiety" is not necessarily "neurotic," as Mrs. Lynd suggests, but is a state like pain or fear, experienced by all human organisms very early in their evolution to maturity; to Dr. Sullivan's way of thinking, it is the principal mechanism by which all self-systems are maintained. I think that Dr. Sullivan would have considered it utopian to believe there could be any social order without problems or anxieties for its members.

Dr. Sullivan did not "join with those psychologists and psychiatrists who label attempts to effect fundamental change in contemporary institutions 'neurotic.'" Mrs. Lynd places them together. Dr. Sullivan pointed out that *some* "attempts to effect fundamental change in contemporary institutions" spring from deep problems of self-organization in those who advocate particular and dogmatic courses of action—some of whom are saved from deep regression by particular kinds of group membership. Mrs. Lynd has said that Dr. Sullivan regards "radical views as a sign of personal insecurity which should be cured." His actual words on page 96 of "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry" are:

> Decision and choice are functions of memory and prospective revery—which often eventuate in foresight. They are, however, interpersonal processes; they do not occur in the vacuum of an isolated individuality, and they correspondingly include the function of the self system. To that extent, they are influenced by all the factors involved in the pursuit of security or its maintenance. They may be, and often are, symptomatic of mental disorder and signatory of over-complicated interpersonal situations. When they happen to be the decisions of a person who has come to subscribe to an ideology foreign to the culture pattern of his childhood, they may be complex indeed. The person who believes that he *voluntarily* cut loose from his moorings and *by choice* accepted new dogmata, in which he has diligently indoctrinated himself, is quite certain to be a person who has suffered great insecurity. He is often a person whose self-organization is derogatory and hateful. . . . If his is one of the more radical groups, the activity of more remote memory in the synthesis of his decisions and choice may be suppressed almost completely, and the activity of prospective revery channeled rigidly in the dogmatic pattern.

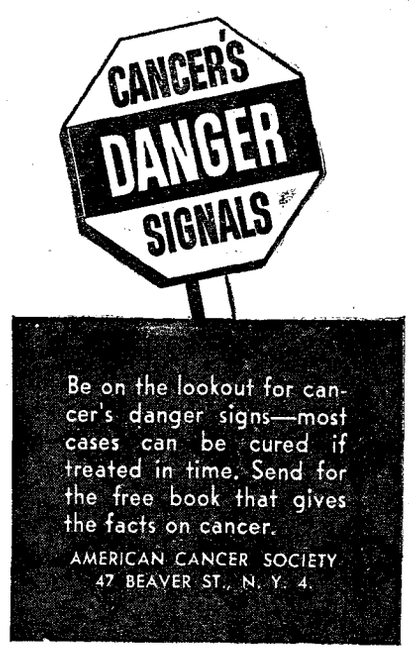
Finally, Mrs. Lynd has implied that Dr. Sullivan supports reaction. But here he states his position clearly in a footnote [see letter above by Cliff Geertz, Jr. —EDITORS].

It appears that Mrs. Lynd seeks a psychological theory on which to "go forward from liberalism." Clearly, Dr. Sullivan would not go along with her here. Yet if he felt that some current designs to go "forward" from "liberalism" are in fact regressions *from* liberalism, he certainly did not identify liberalism with the maintenance of the status quo, or advocate regression of another kind. DOROTHY R. BLITSTEN
New York, January 24

Adjustment—the Precondition for Usefulness

Dear Sirs: In view of the rich evidence of Dr. Sullivan's life work I must, now that he is dead, somewhat reluctantly offer an answer to the principal question raised by Mrs. Lynd: What do therapists mean by "adjustment" and "adequate personality"? She has charged that Sullivan "joins with those psychologists and psychiatrists who label attempts to effect fundamental change in contemporary institutions 'neurotic.'" Among those therapists with whom Sullivan has aligned himself Mrs. Lynd mentions me and cites a case I presented in 1947 at the conference of the American Association of Orthopsychiatry. (The case was subsequently described by me in the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* for October, 1947.) To delineate certain features of the therapeutic process I emphasized in this article that the patient in question showed, during the course of treatment, increasing flexibility and initiative, qualities which helped him in his vocational advancement. To Mrs. Lynd, this result meant that I was aiding and abetting reactionary drives and that I subscribed to a reactionary philosophy. In answering Mrs. Lynd's principle question concerning the meaning of therapeutic treatments I shall try to clarify also my interpretation of the case history in question.

There can be no adjustment without adjustment patterns, no adaptation without predesigned social patterns into which the individual must adapt himself for his own satisfaction. What is adequate personality? It is that which is possessed by an individual who ad-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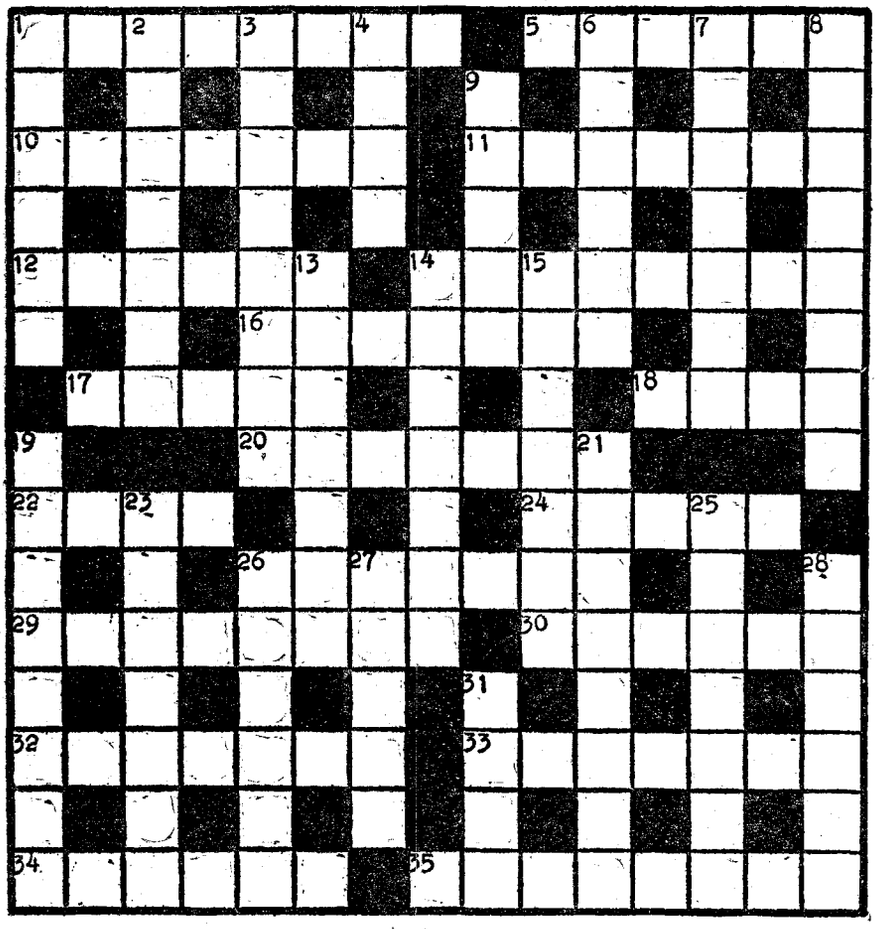
Crossword Puzzle No. 300

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The grooms on these islands should be correspondingly feminine! (8)
5 Grieg wrote of such a procession—and sounds a bit attached to it. (6)
10 A name is changed by this. (7)
11 Long-suffering writer. (7)
12 This might be rather odd! (6)
14 Esoteric circles. (8)
16 Andromeda's father. (7)
17 Omnipresent in southern breakfasts! (5)
18 It's a backward place in 24. (4)
20 Strength of parts of the flower? (7)
22 Changed so as to become a mountain. (4)
24 Where Berlioz put *Harold.* (5)
26 General who might sound like quite a Caesar to some. (7)
29 Displays, perhaps. (8)
30 Used for pounding on the ice? (6)
32 Even a layman must be one. (7)
33 Such a talker would have been better off without inflation. (7)
34 The poet implies the nest is cosy and warm. (6)
35 Such a hold implies lack of inspiration. (8)

DOWN

1 I shut a sort of opening with it. (6)
2 This animal painter might almost be early French. (7)
3 What Lestrade does for a living? (8)
4 The times Erasmus always portrays. (4)
6 The kind of males Household and Walpole wrote of? (6)
7 I'd come up with the sign, as a matter of personal record. (7)
8 She doesn't sound like the mail-packet! (8)
9 Her calling is in the field of popular (?) song. (5)
13 Counterfeit, often found in China. (4, 3)
14 Mocha is found in mountainous regions. (7)
15 Watches, perhaps. (7)
19 Repeated scandal, perhaps, from the G. O. P.'s side. (8)
21 An article in a southern city suggests fruit from Paris. (8)
23 If a sort of lassy is around, it's an oyster plant. (7)
25 Not a cockroach, certainly! (7)
26 A cadre has several columns for support. (3)
27 Prize up for the merrymaking. (5)
28 Insect – – bird – – animal! (6)
31 The Sultan of this died last year. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 299

ACROSS:—1 THE DEVIL TO PAY; 10 RIVAL; 11 CHANTEUSE; 12 TORTILLAS; 13 TUBER; 14 CALAMITY JANE; 19 FUNDAMENTALS; 22 LOUIS; 24 FIRE-TRUCK; 25 CONVIVIAL; 26 DREAM; 27 DOCTOR FAUSTUS.

DOWN:—2 HOVERS; 3 DALAI LAMA; 4 VACILLATE; 5 LEAPS; 6 OCTET; 7 ADUMBRAL; 8 PRATE; 9 DECREES; 15 INTER ALIA; 16 YULETIDES; 17 AFFLICT; 18 INNUENDO; 20 BUREAU; 21 SKIMS; 23 SPILT; 24 FRIAR.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

justs and functions adequately in relation to the place, the environment, and the culture in which he lives.

Let us take a concrete illustration from our immediate experience. New York City youth face numerous adjustment problems which are created or at least aggravated by the fact that most New York City families are still in the process of Americanization. Most of them at this moment are headed by first-, second-, or third-generation newcomers; in consequence, the home life, the family training, and the education of most New York City children operate in terms different from those of families longer established in the United States. Psychoanalytical theory and practice have proved that early training molds character and its adaptive mechanisms. The adaptive mechanisms of most New York City children are not properly tuned for efficient operation and adjustment in this new world. Twelve years of working with New York City youth have convinced me that it is this adaptive process which becomes severed at the moment when youth approaches vocational or professional life. Entrance into the adult world demands the development of new adaptive mechanisms, creates tensions, absorbs energies, and often exhausts psycho-physical resources. One of the most disturbing news stories of 1948 revealed the fact that 50 per cent of the twenty-five-year-old draftees for the armed services from New York City were rejected for psycho-neurotic reasons. Another 25 per cent were rejected for physical reasons; only 25 per cent were considered fit.

The people in case histories similar to the one on which I reported, and which Mrs. Lynd cited, have a desperate struggle to restore their adaptive resources through therapy after they pass adolescence. This therapy is usually long drawn out and costly, and it often taxes the ingenuity of the therapist when he must uncover the particular dynamics of the personality that lie beneath adaptive mechanisms foreign to the patient's own value system. We need the close cooperation of social scientists and, particularly, cultural anthropologists. It is the cultural anthropologist who could explain the specific problems which always repeat themselves when a child of Jewish-Russian, or Polish, or Czech, or Italian, or German background tries to enter the American working world. This is the point where medical and social science most fruitfully could converge in order to develop ways and means of preventing breakdowns and

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to create institutions suitable for supporting an adolescent's capacity to find his new adjustment.

In this sense and in no other I consider the young man I described in my article as cured. His regained flexibility and his new initiative showed that his family training, which had been molded by Russian culture, no longer forced him into a rigid conformity with existing conditions and to submissive dependence upon superior authority.

His new pattern is more adequate for a mobile and heterogeneous society. The new pattern would also make him more adequately fit for joining in American movements to reform institutions which are inimical to human well-being. Flexibility and initiative are preconditions for any constructive activity, be it private, social, or political. While rigid stubbornness and submissive anxiety form in no case the proper equipment for any progress, losing one's temper is a symptom of despair, helpful as a release for the individual but not constructive for a society which requires reform. ELISABETH F. HELLERSBERG

New York, January 26

The Right Things for the Right Reasons

Dear Sirs: Given certain terms of reference, we can say that the individual who "completely" adjusts to the standards of his society and to existing social conditions is not healthy. Such conformity is an attempt to overcome insecurity through subservience of individual interests and values to those of the majority. It may be true, as Sullivan suggests, that a super-healthy person can write his own ticket in our society. But almost none of us are that healthy, and an impossible amount of individual therapy would be necessary for all to achieve that end.

Furthermore, it is absurd to say that this hypothetical healthy person has no fears with regard to realistic political, social, and economic conditions. On the contrary, he is sensitive to discord in his society and calmly but effectively gives his support to liberal causes. Such an orientation is necessitated by the identification of the healthy with all the members of his society, if not of the world. The man who sublimely and passively "adjusts" to the status quo may well find his security dissolving as the social and economic distress in his society increases. We might revise an old axiom to read that only when all the members of a society are secure can the individual be really secure. The healthy man in this view is necessarily a liberal. He is not, like Koestler's Peter, doing the right things for the wrong reasons, but he is doing the right things for the right reasons. ROGER E. JEFFERSON

Berkeley, Cal., July 26

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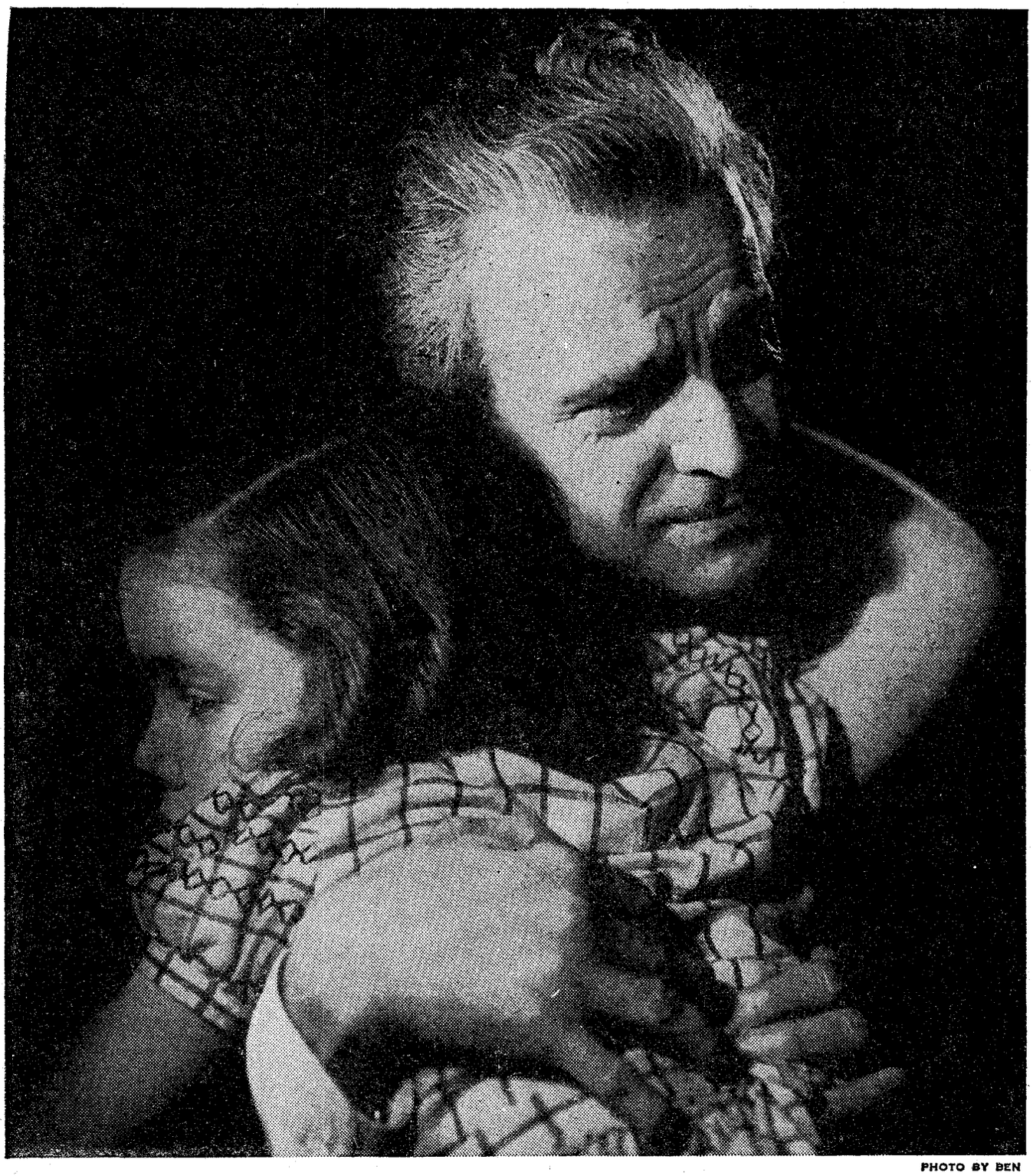

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